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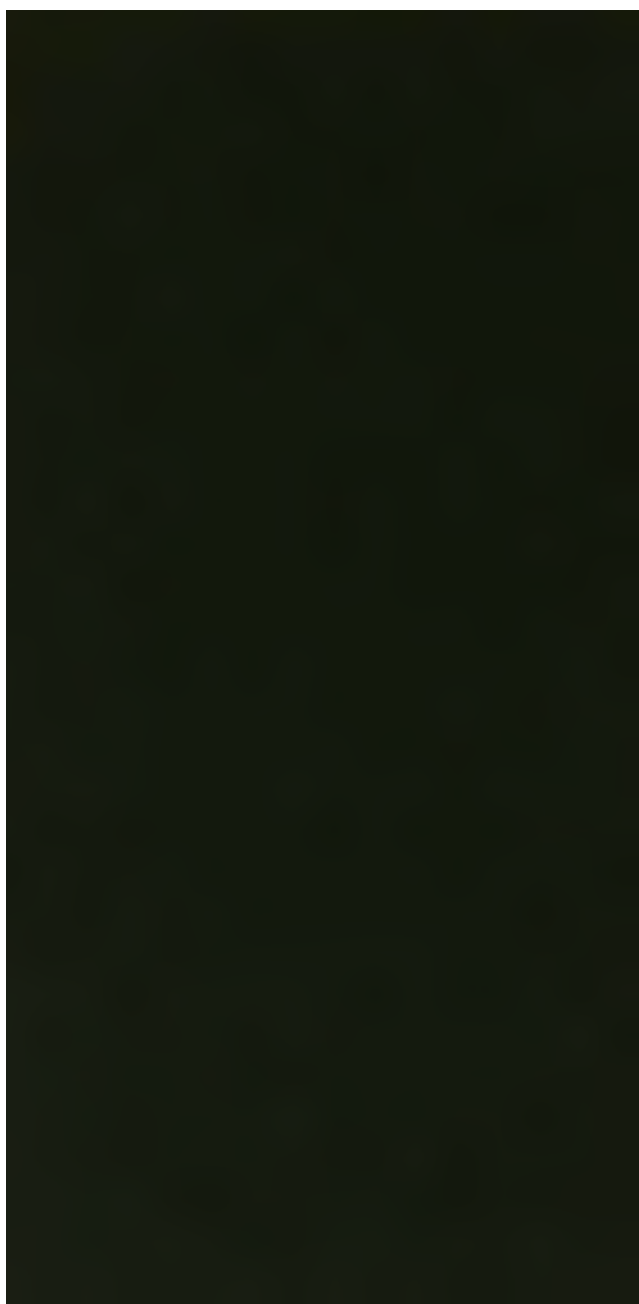
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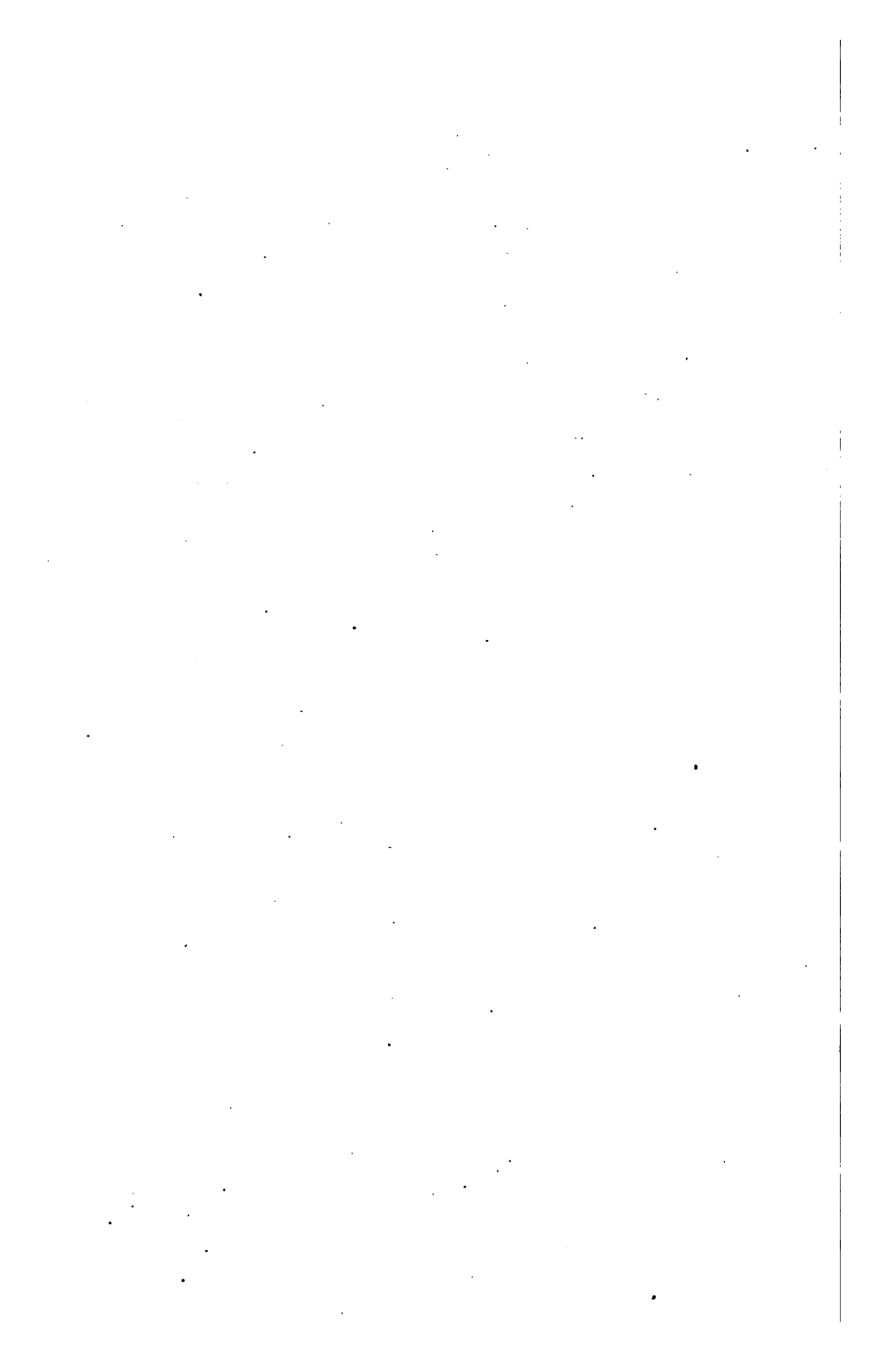
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Historica
BTID



HISTORICAL PICTURES

OF

THE MIDDLE AGES,

IN

Black and White;

MADE ON THE SPOT,

FROM RECORDS IN THE ARCHIVES OF SWITZERLAND,

BY

A WANDERING ARTIST,

AUTHORESS OF 'ROSALIND AND FELICIA, OR THE SISTERS,'
ETC., ETC.

"L'univers est une espèce de livre, dont on n'a lu que la première page quand on n'a vu que son pays. J'en ai feuilleté un assez grand nombre."—*Le Cosmopolite*.

"The affairs of Switzerland occupy a very small space in the great chart of European history. But in some respects they are more interesting than the revolutions of mighty kingdoms. Nowhere besides do we find so many titles to our sympathy, or the union of so much virtue with so complete success."

HALLAM's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1854.



LONDON :
PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

W. CLOWES AND SONS
STAMFORD STREET
LONDON

TO
HENRY HALLAM, ESQ.,
WHOSE
"VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES"
INSPIRED A TASTE FOR HISTORICAL READING,
WHICH
HAS BEGUILED MANY A LONELY HOUR,
THESE HISTORIC PICTURES
ARE INSCRIBED,
BY HIS PERMISSION,
WITH EQUAL GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

Lecteur, qui que tu sois, qui verras ce recuëil,
Daigne lui accorder un favorable accuëil :
Veuille, par un motif de douce complaisance,
User, à son égard, de ta condescendance,
Et, mettant de côté son imperfection,
Regarder seulement la bonne intention
De celui qui l'a fait, qui, pour sa récompense,
N'exige rien de toi, sinon de l'indulgence ;
Car, il n'a employé le temps de son loisir,
Qu'en vuë simplement de te faire plaisir,
Et non point à dessein de briguer un suffrage,
Bien ou mal mérité, pour son petit ouvrage.

Jacques David Nicole, Juge, président de l'honorable Conseil
du Chenit. Prefixed to an historical account of the Vallée
du Lac-de-Joux during 640 years, beginning at the year 1140.

P R E F A C E.

A PREFACE is usually so seldom read, and generally so little wanted, that the author of this work long hesitated as to the propriety of appending one. The reflection, however, that it was ushered into the world under the title of History, at length decided her to point out explicitly the abundant sources whence the materials were drawn, lest it might be supposed that these pictures were, in reality, nothing more than a few leading facts laid down to form a superstructure for a fabric of fiction. All the principal details of "the Nuns' War," more especially liable to suspicion from the dramatic character of its incidents, will be found in Wüerstisen's Great German Chronicle of Basle, published scarcely one hundred years afterwards, when the events narrated were yet in the memory of many aged persons, by whom they were transmitted to posterity, both orally and by writing. A short notice of this famous cloistral dispute may also be met with in the eleventh volume of the "Conservateur Suisse," a periodical publication,

printed some years ago at Lausanne; which, amid much purely local and now useless information, contains many articles of national interest. Several historians, both German and Swiss, have also mentioned this singular contest between the monks and nuns of Little Basle. "The Abbots' War" was likewise derived from many authentic authorities—Müller's History of the Swiss Confederation—the Conservateur Suisse—Gibbon's and Sismondi's Histories of the Fall of the Roman Empire—Hallam's View of the Middle Ages, and several other works. "Bertha, Queen of the Transjurane," has been compiled from an immense number of detached histories and notices laboriously collated—some obtained in Switzerland, others picked up at Arles in Provence, and at Milan, where the spindle of the good queen is yet remembered, and the same proverb exists as in Helvetia, "The time is passed when Bertha spun."

With the accurate and conscientious Müller, historic fidelity requires from the author the declaration that in these pictures all the most essential facts are derived from documents of unquestioned authenticity; but the reflections and turn of expression belong chiefly to herself; nevertheless, in strict conformity to circumstances recorded by chroniclers and historians. Some few incidents indeed, of minor moment, have been de-

rived from oral tradition, without which, in many instances, it would be difficult to unravel and then link together the tangled and broken chronicles of remote ages. Traditions commonly repose on a true foundation, altered in part by popular additions, or suppressions; and in Switzerland they often prove safer guides than in less romantic lands, because it is in the very essence of her children to treasure up the legendary lore of their forefathers. In the absence of printed memorials, the mountaineer of the Alps, and the denizen of the city, had each the same desire to transmit to their children the records of the past with the exactitude which the lettered scribe employed when he wrote for the patron who paid him, or for the future, whose posthumous applause was to be his reward for the penury of the present; and these oral recitations, proceeding from a gifted or beloved tongue, poured into the unworn ear of childhood, would doubtless leave a deeper mark on the memory than the skill of the printer could ever impress. There is a beautiful allusion to this simple method of transmitting the history of by-gone times in the memoirs of the learned Henry Bullinger, the correspondent of Lady Jane Grey, who in relating some past scene says, "there also was present my grandmother, Gertrude Küffer, at the age of eighty." She died when

he was in his eighteenth year, so that he could learn, as he stated, many details from her with as much fidelity and precision as from a written book.* Neither must it be imagined that the omission, or the registration of any particular fact by contemporary writers, is any evidence of the infidelity, or incorrectness of either. The chroniclers of Switzerland were often the chaplains of noble families; and peculiar circumstances occasionally chained their pens, so that some pass over what others carefully record. In the lovely churchyard of Montreux, scarcely a mile from the immortalized castle of Chillon, stands a very plain but antique building, now appropriated to the double purposes of a school and public library. The solemn interior architecture is similar to that of the beautiful church, and its original destination might have remained a mystery, had not the chronicle of the neighbouring château of Chatelarde certified that it was built over the bodies of four thousand men of various nations, nobles, serfs, and hirelings, who fell at Chillon when surprised by the valiant Duke Peter, of Savoy, uncle of our own Queen Eleanor wife of Henry III; and tradition has preserved the remembrance of a daily mass, instituted for the re-

* Là se trouvait aussi ma grand'-mère, Gertrude Küffer, âgée de quatre-vingts ans.

pose of their souls. Of the foundation of this expiatory chantry there was no mention in the chronicle kept at the castle of Blonay, though only three miles from its site, probably, because one of the lords thereof having fallen in that disastrous battle, which insured the dominion of the Pays-de-Vaud to the house of Savoy (to which he was in opposition), his humbled successors would not register the event in their family archives, either from wounded pride or cautious policy ; as at Genoa, the historian of the republic was forbidden by the Doge to allude to the dreadful quarrel of two noble families, the Argovadi and the Marquis de Volta, lest the atrocities it produced might injure the city in the estimation of the world. The destination of the chapel at Montreux has thus descended stamped with legitimacy to posterity ; but had the chronicler of Chatelarde pursued the same course, or had the parchment folio perished by fire or neglect, after the last baron of Chatelarde, Peter of Gingins, was killed defending his castle walls against Berne, its origin would have come down to the 19th century as a mere unsupported tradition, to be rejected or received at the will of the hearer. Mr. Hallam, in his "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages," the most interesting work of the present, to the lovers of the past, ex-

presses some astonishment at the minute details of Müller's History of the Swiss, as compared with the meagre annals of England and France. Had the accomplished historian resided, like the writer of these volumes, nearly six years in various cantons of Switzerland, that surprise would not have been excited. Almost every village had its castle, and nearly every castle its accredited chronicler. Destitute of the modern luxuries—books, newspapers, and letters, excepting, indeed, such important epistles as were deemed of sufficient consequence to be expedited by a special messenger from one baron's castle to another—and usually imprisoned during many months of the year, by roads often impassable from snow and torrents, the most trivial events in the narrow circle were circumstantially and scrupulously recorded for the amusement or future information of the family, as old Froissart naïvely tells us he penned down at night for the public, whatever he might have picked up during his forages, in quest of news for his Chronicle, by day. The chancee visit of a wanderer, with a budget of news from the great world beyond, often afforded the scribe of the household employment for his pen during many a long evening; and what he thus communicated was considered ample remuneration for the hospitality he received. Great cities and

monasteries, also, not unfrequently preserved a collection of such facts as fell under their observation; and private individuals, in like manner, treasured up the ephemeral events of the day. Even after the invention of printing, the office of annalist was long in falling into disuse. The general reluctance of the many (whose interests are impaired by popular improvements), to yield up at once their calling and bread, is shown by a curious petition to Pope Sixtus IV. in 1472, from two printers named Sweynheim and Pannartz, complaining of the poverty brought on them by having published more works than they could sell, and praying relief. And the Parliament of Paris, on a yet more lamentable petition from the copyists of MSS. setting forth the new art as alike cruel to them and dangerous to the public, ordered some of the books first printed in France to be seized, either from superstition or false compassion. The inestimable benefits of the press were from many causes slowly developed to the middle classes; books, yet scarce and very dear, had many obstacles to encounter in their journeys abroad, and were especially slow in travelling to the Alpine castles and sequestered towns of Helvetia. Private chronicles thus continued to be the fashion both in Switzerland and Italy long after they were discontinued in England,

where in fact they never existed to any great extent.

• The author of these pictures of the past is not aware that any of her subjects has yet appeared in an English dress. Circumstances twice led her to arrest a wandering course for a season near public libraries, whose ample shelves, rich in the lore and literature of Helvetia, opened to her a mine of untouched wealth. Neither have they been selected from their peculiar interest in her eyes, but because they were the *first* made in advancing from Basle—the great portal which unlocks Switzerland to the northern traveller,—towards the orange groves, myrtle bowers, and marble palaces of Italy, by the lovely banks of the Lemman, and the sublime pass of the Simplon. Far, very far, is she from imagining that a pencil so rapid has left nothing unmarked—nothing undelineated—nothing for one more gifted to depict. In a wide and flowery mead many blossoms will escape the eye of the most assiduous gatherer—many ears of good wheat remain in a large field after the weary or time-pressed gleaner has bound up his sheaves and departed.

Baths of Lucca, Italy,
March, 1846.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE
SECOND EDITION.

WHEN the writer of these volumes sat down to the pleasing task of preparing a new edition, her first thought was to evince her sense of what was due to the gentlemen who had so favourably greeted its appearance in 1846, by endeavouring to render it yet more worthy of their valuable suffrage. For the generous encouragement so disinterestedly bestowed on—as they imagined—the first literary effort of that somewhat ambiguous personage, an anonymous lady author, she (now recently returned to her native country after many years' absence) begs to offer her tardy but grateful acknowledgments, more especially to the "Britannia," "Athenæum," "Observer," "Sunday Times," and "Spectator," with the assurance that, as far as she possibly could, she has amended whatever appeared (after careful revision) incorrect, and supplied what seemed wanting to establish it as a work of genuine history, although presented in a light form.

She has given fresh references to the authors from whom she drew her facts, at the risk of wearisomely interrupting the thread of her narration, more anxious to authenticate her claim to fidelity (without which her Pictures would be worthless) than to gain applause for good composition. All the printed books she has enumerated will be readily met with in these days of continental intercourse, and the scholar may thus not only satisfy his doubts (if he entertain any), but derive much interesting information as to the whereabouts of MSS. still locked up in libraries inaccessible to all but the learned. Her Notes, if too voluminous for the taste of the mere seeker of amusement, being mostly in foreign languages, can be passed over without inconvenience—silent but graphic testimonials, conveyed by the eye to the mind, of the faithfulness of the Text.

Besides these additions, she will append extracts from celebrated writers, ancient and modern, full of curious matter and wise remark, in corroboration that the western portion of Helvetia, where she resided nearly nine years, is unusually rich in records of the past, and that, consequently, great light has been thrown on the domestic details of the period. Having thus furnished ample proof of the truthfulness of her Pictures, she hopes she may be allowed to offer a

few words of apology for the defects of the work, considered in a literary point of view. It has been objected that she is too diffuse, and indulged a feminine taste in expatiating upon "cups and candlesticks, gold Byzantines, and balm of Mecca." She pleads in excuse that her work was intended to be, as stated, a series of "Pictures of the Middle Ages," and as a painter permits himself to place on his canvas those minor objects, technically termed accessories, to give reality and interest to the subject, so she did not deem allusions to the customs and costumes of that remote epoch irrelevant; and imagined that costly gifts passing between monarchs, recorded by the majestic Gibbon; splendid specimens of art presented as holy offerings to monastic institutions; inventories of the rich contents of the lady's trinket-box, and the young gallant's exterior adornments, with the domestic arrangements of the princely noble of the castle, and the portly burgher of the imperial city, duly registered by the grave Tillier and the learned Egide Tschudi, forming an integral portion of her design, were not too puerile to find a place in her pages. It is possible some read-and-run searchers after entertainment may consider that she might have cut her stories much shorter, and she admits that she could have done so; the "Nuns' War" and

the "Abbots' War" especially, being already printed in French in a brief consecutive form, were capable of much diminution. A simple recapitulation of the chronological facts would have sufficed to tell the tale of these cloisteral disputes ; but she aimed at something more—history, in the words of a great author :—

"History separated from biography is an inexplicable riddle ; for in the individual characters of rulers and princes, in their passions, interests, and good and bad principles, can alone be traced the springs of the outward and visible actions which history records."—*Tytler*.

"This digression has been a little long, but I thought it was useful," says Guichenon, when, animated by the same sentiment, he wanders from the straight road of history into some bye-way.

For casual trivial mistakes, whether in chronology or history, she thinks she cannot do better than avail herself of the language of the most distinguished writers when alluding to their learned labours.

"I have drawn also a part of this compilation from tradition, when it had affinity to my subject, and I knew it was based on truth ; but I have observed the greatest care to insert nothing which was not in strict conformity to the truth, as far as I could ascertain it to be such. I have mingled in my recital probable

facts, which I might have found it difficult to authenticate in their fullest extent ; but I have taken the precaution to employ in my narrative such terms as will easily point out the uncertain from the indubitable, such as—it is said—it is possible—it is presumed—and other expressions of that nature.”—*Hist. de la Vallée du Lac-de-Joux, par J. D. Nicole, page 9.*

“ We must of necessity, when there is only incertitude in all these (contrary) opinions, adopt another, and accept the common ancient tradition as the safest. In fact, it is difficult to penetrate into ages so far distant, and prove with the certitude of demonstration the source of any race beyond seven centuries, because before 1000 the most illustrious families had no surname, and those who possessed the largest estates did not bear the title of their lands.”—*Hist. Généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie, tom. i. p. 168.*

The Benedictine monks of the Congregation of St. Maur, whose “ Art of Verifying the Dates of Historical Facts ” is the guide of the learned, declare, with the modesty which accompanies true knowledge, that this celebrated work is not without defects, and that “ no historian is infallible, that being a privilege granted only to the authors of Holy Writ.”

Mons. de Tillemont and the Father Mabillon, with Mons. Muratori, the glory of their age, make no pretensions to perfection; on the contrary, Muratori himself warns his readers against the illusion of great names, declaring that "there is no author, however careful he may be, who is not liable to make mistakes, and even gross ones."

She claims for herself nothing but the merit of industry and the *desire* to be impartial. The former, she thinks, will not be disputed by those who may take the trouble of consulting her references. Like the good pastor of Montreux, she can truly affirm that she has "opened many an obsolete volume laden with notes and dust, and gleaned here and there through entire books," without obtaining much to reward her labour beyond the satisfaction of knowing that she had neglected no means of acquiring information connected with her subjects. Her pretensions to impartiality may not be so readily accorded, because the lapse of ages has made no difference in the minds of men on certain points of history, and private opinion will cast its colour over her Pictures.

January 3, 1854.

REFERENCES.

Cette digression a été un peu longue ; mais je crois qu'elle n'a pas été inutile.—*Guichenon*, p. 65, t. ii.

J'ai aussi tiré parti de la tradition, lorsqu'elle avoit quelque affinité à mon sujet et que je l'ai reconnue fidèle.

J'ai observé, avec le plus grand soin, de ne rien insérer dans ce recueil qui ne fût parfaitement conforme à la vérité, autant que j'ai pu la connoître. Il est vrai que j'ai entremêlé, dans mon récit, certains faits vraisemblables, dont j'aurois peine à garantir toute l'authenticité, mais j'ai eu la précaution de me servir, pour en faire la narration, de termes qui les feront assez reconnoître, comme, par exemple : on dit, il est vraisemblable, il est probable, il est à présumer, et autres expressions de cette nature.—*Hist. de la Vallée du Lac-de-Joux par J. D. Nicole*, page 9.

Ainsi n'y ayant qu'incertitude en toutes ces opinions, il nous faut par nécessité prendre un autre parti, et nous ranger à l'opinion commune et à l'ancienne tradition. . . . en effet il est difficile de pénétrer dans des siècles si éloignés, et de prouver avec certitude et démonstration la source d'une famille au-de là de sept siècles ; parcequ'avant l'an 1000 les familles les plus illustres n'avaient point de surnom, et ceux qui possédaient les plus grandes terres n'en portaient pas la qualité.—*Hist. Généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie*, t. i. p. 168.

“Non v’ha scrittore per grandé che sia, il quale non sia suggetto a prendere de i granchi, ed anche a grossolamente ingannarsi.”—*Muratori, Ann. d’It. t. vi. p. 54.*

J’ai ouvert des volumes fermés depuis plus d’un siècle, et, tout chargé de notes et de poussière, je viens vous rendre compte de mes découvertes.—*Conservateur Suisse*, vol. ii. p. 81.

Il faut glaner çà et là et parcourir des livres entiers, avant d’en tirer une page de résultat. . . . et encore je ne puis vous garantir l’authenticité des détails que je vous envoie. . . . mais j’indiquerai mes sources, et vous leur donnerez le degré de confiance que bon vous semblera.—*Conservateur Suisse*, vol. ii. p. 81.

Depuis 15 ans que je fais des recherches sur l’histoire de ma patrie, j’ai eu entre les mains près de dix mille chartes sur le Pays-de-Vaud, antérieures aux XVI. siècle, et j’en ai extrait la plus grande partie. Cette quantité paroîtra moins extraordinaire, quand on saura qu’il n’est peut-être pas de contrée de cette étendue en Europe, sur laquelle il existe encore autant d’anciens documens. Les archives de Berne, celles de toutes les villes, de toutes les Seigneuries et de toutes les anciennes familles du Pays-du-Vaud, en renferment une quantité innombrable. Il en existe surtout, sur les siècles les plus reculés, cent au Pays-de-Vaud, pour une qui concerne la partie Allemande du Canton de Berne. J’attribue cette singularité principalement à deux causes. La première, c’est qu’il existoit dans cette contrée une masse de lumières plus considérable et plus anciennement répandue que dans l’Helvétie Allemande. La seconde, c’est que les ecclésiastiques s’étant emparés de la stipulation de tous les contrats quelconques, en exigeoient une finance et faisoient en sorte que la convention la plus minutieuse fût rédigée dans un

acte formel. Les Allemands au contraire finissoient verbalement et devant témoins les affaires de peu d'importance ; ce n'étoit que dans les ventes, donations, etc., les plus essentielles, qu'ils faisoient rédiger un contrat par écrit.—*Recherches Historiques sur les anciennes assemblées des Etats du Pays-de-Vaud*, par Nicolas Frédéric de Mulinen.

L'étude du passé est nécessaire à l'éducation d'un peuple : or il est peu de contrées en Europe où les documens soient aussi abondans que dans celle que nous habitons ; peu, dont le moyen-âge puisse être remplir avec moins de lacunes. Un grand jour pourrait ainsi être jeté même sur les siècles reculés et héroïques de la patrie. Les détails de mœurs, ailleurs si rares, foisonnent dans nos archives.—*Recherches sur le Couvent de Romainmotier*, par Fréd. de Charrier.

Many anecdotes of the house of Savoy are drawn from a very rare book, entitled 'Grands Chroniques des gestes et vertueux faits des très-excellens Catholiques, illustres et victorieux Ducs, et Princes des Pays de Savoye et Piémont, par Symphorien de Champier, Seigneur de la Favergue.' This curious work appeared for the first time at Paris in 1516, and was printed by the order of Louisa of Savoy, Duchess d'Angoulesme, mother of Francis the First of France.

Chacun sans doute n'a pas la facilité de consulter les chartres manuscrites, qui existent dans les archives publiques et particulières ; mais la plupart des documens nécessaires à notre histoire sont imprimés : on les trouve dans les ouvrages de Tschudi, de Stettler, de Guilliman, de Goldast, de Guichenon, de Hergott, de Spon, de Schœpflin, de Zurlauben, de Leu, de Lunig, etc."—*Conservateur Suisse*, vol. vi. p. 312.

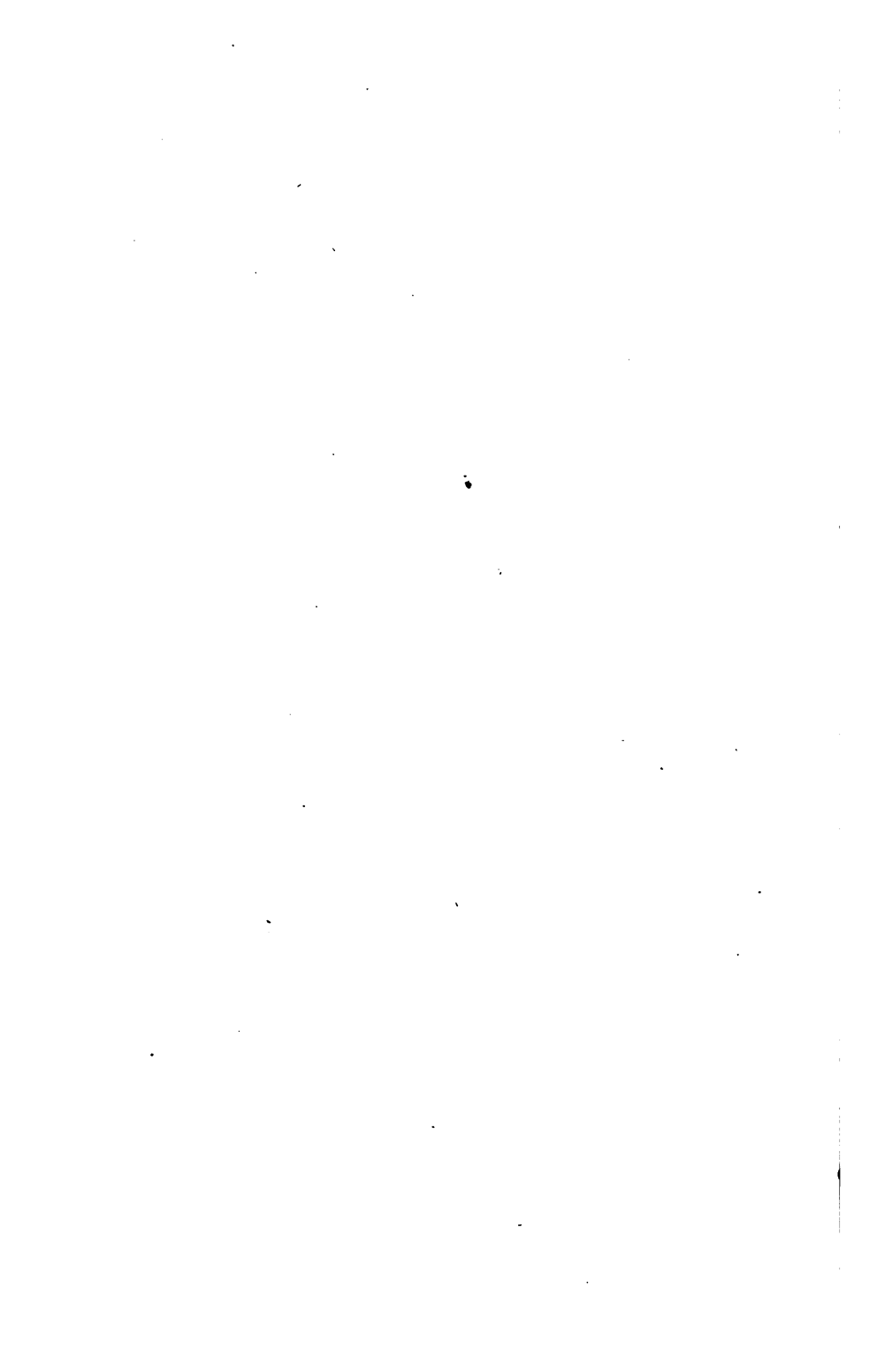
La chronique d'Albert de Strasbourg, p. 114, dans la seconde partie de la collection des Historiens d'Allemagne publiée à

Francfort en 1585, par le savant Wüstitzen de Bâle, in folio. Ce recueil, devenu très rare, renferme beaucoup de choses intéressantes sur l'histoire Suisse du moyen âge.—*Conservateur Suisse*, vol. ii. p. 479.

The artless chronicle of the monk, John of Vinterthour, is found in the 'Thesaurus Historiæ Helveticæ' in folio, Zurich, 1735.—It is the first article of this important collection.

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HISTORICAL PICTURES

OF

THE MIDDLE AGES.

BASLE—SWITZERLAND, 1483.

“Erasmus diffuses a lustre over his age which no other name, among the learned, supplies.”

“As the vessel moved slowly from the ancient bridge and quays, lined with thousands of spectators assembled in solemn silence to witness his departure, Erasmus arose, and, turning towards the city he had abandoned, pronounced, with much emotion, a Latin farewell, in four impromptu lines, which his friend Amerbach immediately transcribed upon his tablets :

“‘Basle, beloved city! where I have passed the sweetest portion of my life, adieu! May Heaven bless thee, and may thy hospitable walls never shelter any guest less happy, or less attached, than he who now bids thee farewell!’”*

THE door of a museum, filled with rare and beautiful objects, is usually passed with careless indifference by

* “Jam, Basilea, vale, quâ non urbs altera multis
Annis exhibuit gratius hospitium.
Hinc precor omnia læta tibi, simul illud, Erasmo
Hospes utine unquam tristior adveniat!”

the eager visitor impatient to gaze on the treasures it will unlock to his view ; and on his return, sated with seeing, the eye weary, and the attention occupied, he is probably still less disposed to stop to examine it, however worthy of his attention and admiration.

Such is too often the fate of the fine old city of Basle, the portal through which so many travellers pass on their way to the wonders of Alpine scenery—the Oberland—Mont Blanc—the sunny vine-clad mountains of the Jura—the varied beauties of the romantic lakes of Switzerland—the snow-capped regions of the Saint Bernard, and the glowing charms of Italian landscapes. A cursory view of its noble cathedral—a slight glance at the frescoes of its Gothic Hôtel-de-ville, or modern palace for the poor, with a peep at the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Holbein, and the fragments of the famous Dance of Death (not by him) in the public library,—and the stranger quits Basle, satisfied that he has seen all it presents meet for inspection. He drives through its antique gateways, each crowned (as in former times) with warlike turrets and a warning tocsin—its double enclosure of grey battlemented walls mossy with age, but perfect as when Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the lively accomplished embryo pope Pius II. (whose letters confer far more honour on his latinity than his morals), and the grave and most learned Erasmus, delighted to take their daily walks from one old circular tower to another without obser-

vation ; and, contrasting the comparative sameness of its surrounding country with the grandeur of that which soon afterwards bursts on his astonished sight, registers Basle in the tablets of memory as “ a dull old place, with no natural beauties around to recommend it to notice.”

Not such was the opinion of the many illustrious men who have recorded in letters, that posterity delights to preserve their admiration of this fallen but still attractive city. The chosen abode of Erasmus, whose ashes repose in the cathedral—of Œcolampadius — of Meyer — of Gryneus, and other distinguished reformers—the birthplace of the Bernouillis—of Euler —of Maupertuis—of Buxtorf, and many literary characters scarcely less revered ;—the seat of the famous council whose acts were the precursors of the dawning Reformation ; and, from its position as a free independent town, continually selected for negotiations of importance to the world at large, Basle has ever occupied a prominent place in the history of by-gone ages : and whilst wandering through its curious quadrangular cloisters, whose walls, pillars, and pavement are lined with sculptured monuments, or seated on the lovely terrace of the cathedral, listening to the murmurs of the Rhine, rushing beneath to the long old wooden bridge, which spans its broad clear bosom—the Black Forest in the distance—the high pointed roofs of the old buildings below—spires, and pinnacles, and feudal

turrets mingling their glittering ornaments with the leafy tops of luxuriant trees—the old city walls, at intervals shaded by the blooming gardens which now arise in rich luxuriance from the deep circumvallating fosses at their feet—the wandering artist, whose feeble but faithful pencil traces this hasty sketch, has often felt more calm delight than when contemplating scenes of greater magnificence.

Basle, though politically a portion of the Swiss Confederation, is historically a part of Swabia; and still exhibits many of the characteristics of an imperial city—numerous churches of beautiful architecture—antique houses ornamented with sculpture and exterior fresco paintings—fine fountains—spacious squares—and ancient gateways retaining, with their portcullis's, the advanced work or barbican, similar to those which formerly existed at York—others decorated with designs in fresco by the hands of Holbein and his pupils. The roof of the cathedral—the Rathhaus, or Hôtel-de-ville, a Burgundian building of imposing appearance, and many of the old towers, are covered with a species of mosaic, formed of bright glossy tiles of various colours—several of the principal streets have *trottoirs* composed of shining pebbles wrought into devices brought from the banks of the Byrse, so hard as to admit of polishing; and stranger guests, *amateur* lapidists, are accused of sometimes digging up, under cover of the night, these rough gems, to be arranged as

shirt and wrist buttons. Mottoes, now of grave, now of merry import, placed over mouldering door-ways and under mullioned windows, occasionally greet the eye of the antiquary; but they are growing each day rarer, and a hundred years hence, excepting the grand features of the city, Basle will probably become like the ancient Roman colony of Deutz across the Rhine at Cologne, of which a German said, with much *naïveté*, to the writer, when expressing astonishment at the exceeding modernness of the streets, "it was its being so very old that makes it now so very new." The greatest of all innovators—the destroyer of gilded palaces, the obliterator of monumental inscriptions, of sculptured column and animated statue—Time, has indeed passed his ruthless scythe so remorselessly over the birthplace of Agrippina, that tradition fails to mark out even the sites of the edifices occupied by Claudius and Germanicus, and their Roman legions at Deutz—whilst at Augusta Rauracorum—the extensive settlement of which Basle was a colony, so that Erasmus in playful moments loved to style himself a Roman citizen,—scarcely a vestige remains above ground; though, beneath the flowery meads and waving crops, the ground is so full of relics of these ancient masters of the world, that each year commonly brings to light some long buried memento of their reign.

It was at the epoch of the long duration of the council, held for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses

from 1431 to 1444, that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, elevated twenty-two years afterwards to the pontifical throne under the name of Pius II., at that period the courtly secretary of the excellent Cardinal di Fermo, archbishop of Arles, composed a description of Basle, for which city he always preserved so affectionate a remembrance, that one of his first acts on attaining the tiara was to found, at the request of the citizens, the university, which has subsequently counted so long a list of learned members. The original Latin MS., dated 1436, is now in the public library of Basle. It was printed in 1577. A translation soon appeared in the German language, and eventually in the French. He witnessed, from the top of a tower, the bloody fight of Saint Jacob—the Marathon, or rather the Thermopylæ, of Switzerland; and bears unbiassed testimony to the wondrous valour which enabled 1200 men to repulse 40,000, commanded by the *élite* of the French and Austrian nobility under the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. More than four centuries have passed away since this accomplished observer, whose abilities were far in advance of his principles, wrote in the purest Latin this description; and yet all the great outlines of the picture drawn by his skilful hand remain: the Rhine still rapidly pours a broad deep flood of pale green over its rocky bed; the great square is daily filled with the choicest fruits and vegetables; the picturesque costume of the young maidens

is unaltered, and admirably calculated to display that beauty of form and features which he (no mean judge) so enthusiastically lauds. The churches are, indeed, no longer studded with elegant tribunes (such as are now to be seen in Italy) where the patrician ladies sat to hear mass; and the relics, and statues, and holy paintings have all disappeared, for Basle is eminently Protestant; but the forty-six fountains, supplying ever-gushing streams of the most limpid water, suggesting springs cool, deep, and sanative—the well-furnished shops, and general air of wealth pervading the whole aspect of the city—the ramparts, gates, cloisters, and style of architecture, attest the minute accuracy of his details.*

* *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, sprung from a noble and gifted family of Sienna, was unquestionably one of the ablest men of his age. The powers of his extraordinary mind and splendid pen were first displayed at Basle, during the council, by his warm support of that learned body against papal authority. He was then private secretary to the good archbishop of Arles, perhaps the most strenuous advocate of the proposed reforms—subsequently to the council, appointed in gratitude for the zeal, energy, and ability he evinced in its favour; and lastly to the emperor Frederick the Third. Though highly born he was poor, and owed his first elevation to the subtle arguments he employed in defending the council: his next, to the equally skilful and statesman-like manœuvres with which he brought about its dissolution when his own interests and the wishes of the emperor decided him to pursue an opposite course. Learned, elegant, accomplished, and courteous, he was much admired at Basle; and

The *interior* arrangements of the houses of the rich citizens and *gentils-hommes*, he says, yielded in no respect to those of Florence,—a high compliment, when it is remembered that Florence was the seat of the refined government of the Medici. He expatiates on the pretty exotic birds, shut up in costly prisons of gilded wire, whose sweet chants beguiled the hours of their fair mistresses, as they sat employing their delicate fingers in all the mysteries of stitchery, or pored over the dreary legends of saints; and the small pendant gardens, tastefully disposed in long baskets under the bay windows, filling the apartments with the odorous perfume of flowers and shrubs. He praises the citizens for their attention to commerce and business-like habits; and wisely, since all that embellishes life, or that leads to the intercourse of different nations, springs from that source; whilst the beneficent reciprocity of blessings and benefits necessarily leads to amelioration of the heart and manners. Yet Basle, as a mercantile *entrepôt*, must then have

when raised to the papal throne, he remembered the favours bestowed on the young unknown secretary of the cardinal of Arles. This is perhaps (excepting his love of learning) the most pleasing *trait* in the character of one so entirely destitute of honourable feeling and real principle. His papal excommunication (in his *official character* as pope Pius II.) of *himself individually* as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, for having dared to defend the councils against popes, is a matchless piece of effrontery and singularity.

been much behind the importance it afterwards reached; for, commenting on the accelerated rapidity of the Rhine, as it rushes from the cataract of Schaffhausen, he says, "no vessels can ascend the adverse tide from Strasbourg." What would he have thought could a magician's wand, or Prince Achmed's telescope directed through a vista of four hundred years into futurity, have shown him the Adler of the Upper Rhine, that most elegant of elegant steamers, decorated with gay pavilions of every colour, fearlessly dashing forward on her brilliant but hazardous enterprize, till, panting and foaming, she stopped to land her cosmopolite multitudes in triumph at the very foot of the old bridge?

Æneas, then twenty-six years of age, next offers his warm tribute of admiration to the personal charms of the ladies of Basle, which he thinks were rather obscured than heightened by their rich habiliments, and profuse display of jewellery. Balls, it appears, were frequent, at which no plebeian could be present unless adorned by some civic dignity or excessively rich; in which case, he hints, that a golden key sometimes opened the doors at Basle as elsewhere. Another writer of celebrity, Daniel l'Ermite, a native of Antwerp, who accompanied the French ambassador into Switzerland about 1600, also bears testimony to the loveliness of the *Baloises*, and speaks of their costume as alike elegant and magnificent. He says they bear

away the palm from their gentle compatriots, not excepting those of Zurich, who are proverbially handsome. This letter, written in language that would have honoured the classic age of Augustus, addressed to the son of the duke of Mantua, was printed by the Elzevirs in 1627, and excited much attention in Europe by the extraordinary beauty of its style, and information respecting a country then but little known. . The sumptuary laws subsequently enacted must have produced a great and sombre change in the appearance of this fair population. On Sunday all but the nobility were required to dress in black ; the authority of the official censors over all that related to the cut, quantity, or quality of clothes was supreme ; golden ornaments, diamonds, and precious stones were banished *in toto*, and desperate war long waged against slashed sleeves and embroidered shoes.

From the still stricter metropolitan and most aristocratical cities of Bern, Geneva, and Zurich, issued mandate upon mandate not only against the weaker sex, but their co-partners in frivolity or expenditure belonging to the other—against breeches (delicate reader, start not!), pantaloons were then unknown—against breeches too wide or too narrow,—against doublets ornamented with ribbons,—against the gay furred mantles in which they draped their persons in the temple (so churches were then called) ; “*attirant les regards des personnes du sexe*,” attracting the at-

tention of women,—against shoes ornamented with gold-heels, and points, and chains of gold and silver,—against silken garments of any kind, except at weddings, and their natural appendage, christenings,—against cloth of gold and rich brocades,—against the fine linen of Holland and the point lace of Flanders,—against gold and silver galoons and false hair, and the “accursed weed” from Virginia, anathematized by our own royal James.

The sons of the warlike republics were enjoined not to neglect to gird on the sword when they went to church, nor to effeminate themselves by the luxurious use of tea and coffee. At Bern, such was the awful power of the unpopular executioners of the law on these offences, that ladies passing in the streets might be hauled to the Hôtel-de-ville, the obnoxious trains of illegal gowns forthwith cut off, and there left for the benefit of the poor. It appears, too, since nothing is new under the sun, that the excessive fulness of petticoats was as fashionable in the middle of the sixteenth century as in the middle of the nineteenth; for an old writer concludes a very long and bitter tirade against such atrocities with this frightful wish, “Would to Heaven the women had as many wrinkles in their faces as they have plaits in their gowns!”*

* The luxury of female dress and gallantry of a bridegroom may be imagined from the inventory of the *parure* of a noble Vaudoise lady given by Tillier. Gold bracelets; a pearl chain

Amongst many highly curious particulars as to the mode of life, dress, manners, and morals of the inhabitants at that period by Æneas Sylvius, is one relative to the punishments inflicted on persons either guilty or suspected of crime ; and, whilst he praises the general uprightness of the motives and conduct of the magistrates, " frequenters of the church every day, and great venerators of images and saints," their zeal for religion, and peaceable habits as citizens, he cannot refrain from being astounded, if not shocked, at their judicial severity as rulers : breaking on the wheel—burning alive—imprisonment in dark dungeons, on a scanty allowance of black bread and muddy water, till death necessarily ensued—drowning in the Rhine—muti-

necklace, composed of 880 large pearls ; a diamond collar ; another collar, having little flagree vases, full of musk ; a rose of diamonds, probably a brooch ; another of rubies ; an emerald and a sapphire set in gold rings, received from the magnificent lord of Graffenried. Item, a medal of rubies, &c.

Testament of the noble lady Margaret de Graffenried, *née* Blonay, made at Lausanne the 17th of October, 1643.

" On portait alors des culottes d'une ampleur énorme, percées de plusieurs ouvertures longitudinales. Les dandys de l'époque insinuaient souvent dans ces plis des rameaux de vignes."—*Tschudi. Tillier.*

The avoyer of Friburg, John de Maggenberg, advancing on horseback to the front of the Bernese army, affected to believe that the half was composed of women from their wide breeches.

" Vous allez voir," répondit Kuno de Rinckenberg, " de quel sexe nous sommes."—*Ibid.*

lation and other tortures, were the usual modes adopted to obtain confession of guilt, or punish its commission.

It is delightful, as a proof of the gradual improvement of successive ages, to be able to place, in contrast to this dark hideous portrait of a by-gone period, the bright modern pendant belonging to our own times. The Hôtel Dieu, recently constructed, is on a scale so splendid, that it seems rather a palace than a hospital: and when in 1789 nearly 1000 Jews, suddenly and cruelly driven from Alsace, sought a refuge in Basle, every house, which would formerly have closed its doors with insult, hatred, and superstitious fear at their approach, was spontaneously opened to them, and so truly Samaritan had been the conduct of every class, that on their return to their devastated homes, a learned rabbin of Alsace composed in Hebrew a thanksgiving to the God of Israel for the mercies received at Basle, with a prayer for their Christian benefactors. At a later period, many hundreds of Poles received succour from the humanized posterity of the stern lawgivers of the fifteenth century, whilst the general legislation of the country is eminently equitable and mild.*

* Eccelin da Romano, usually called the "Tyrant of Italy," was not alone distinguished for the atrocious cruelty of mutilation in the middle ages. Boniface lord of Canossa, better known by the title of marquis of Tuscany, whose splendid patri-

The Münster, or Cathedral, on the high bank of the Rhine, just where it becomes navigable above the ancient bridge which leads to Little Basle, a most picturesque edifice, with richly sculptured spires and portals, commenced in 1010, belongs to that singular style of architecture termed Byzantine, rather than Gothic, and forms a noble and sacred shelter for the vast assemblage of mural monuments and magnificent tombs which rise, in solemn beauty, within its spacious

mony was bequeathed by his daughter, the famous countess Matilda, to increase the papal revenues, commanded that the ears and noses of his unhappy prisoners, on some occasions, should be cut off. A Benedictine monk, named Doniza, chaplain to the countess, in a poem dedicated to her, relating this event, exultingly says, "And three bouclers were filled with them." The refusal of the marquis to spare a widow's only son, who on her knees had offered, as an equivalent, his weight in silver, is lauded by the same author, as a proof of the marquis's inviolable justice and adherence to his word. These facts, so naïvely recorded—the *oubliettes*, which existed in almost all feudal castles, and the *authorized use of torture everywhere*, will induce the traveller and historian to applaud, with the philosophic Gibbon, "the merit and happiness of his own time."—*Conservateur Suisse*, Vol. VI, pp. 326 and 327.

"Tout prévenu était appliqué à la question. On en fit un tel abus qu'il fut défendu d'employer ultérieurement la *strappa di corda*. Un autre voleur, dont la femme n'était par chrétienne, (Paul Niedlinger) fut condamné au même supplice et de plus torturé avec des brandons. Il vécut longtemps sur la roue."—*Hist. du Canton de Fribourg par Berchtold*, Vol. II, pp. 56 and 58.

aisles and cloisters. A staircase, leading out of the choir, conducts to the chapter house (*Conciliums Saal*), in which the meetings of the Council of Basle were held, when not so numerous as to be obliged to adjourn to the choir itself; and it is additionally interesting from being quite unaltered since that period. The *very* cushions, on which so many legates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, monks, doctors, ambassadors, and learned lawyers sat, during the often stormy discussions which marked its sittings, still remain. A bust of Erasmus in lonely dignity, and a series of figures formed of a peculiar composition, representing the celebrated Dance of Death, with two very antique pieces of carved furniture brought from a suppressed monastery, are the sole additions to this most curious old vaulted chamber.

In the long catalogue of remarkable events and ceremonies attached to this cathedral, the coronation of a pope, Amadeus VIII., duke of Saxony, known under the title of Felix V., and the funeral obsequies of Anne, empress of Germany, whose posterity still occupy the throne of Austria, are perhaps the most striking.

There is, in the record of the empress's interment, a strange mixture of barbaric pomp and human tenderness, seeking to invest the object of lost affection with regal grandeur, even when the spirit had fled from its frail tenement, and the closed senses were alike shut

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to all earthly ties, whether of pride or of love : and her tomb, one of the most beautiful specimens of that glorious period of art, when monumental effigies were likenesses—when each distinction of age, of character, of office, was preserved ; when each fold of the flowing drapery or minute link of the chain armour, when each delicate outline of the faded features, shrouded under a veil, or starting from a helmet, was delineated by the skilful chisel of the thirteenth century, exists to recall to remembrance the stately and frightful pageant which consigned this empress to the grave she had herself selected in the cathedral of Basle.

Gertrude Anne, countess of Hohenberg and Kibourg in her own right, first wife of the emperor Rudolph, count of Habsburg, founder of that dynasty, was not unfitted by her birth for the imperial honours to which she was called by the unexpected elevation of her husband. She was the great-niece of Berthold V., last duke of the illustrious family of Zähringen, and inherited, after the death of her brother Hartmann (the younger count of Kibourg, who died at an early age), the major part of the paternal property ; for, although he left an infant daughter, the laws of the land, little explanatory as to female successions, tacitly deemed her the legitimate representative of the family. As the young Anne of Kibourg grew up, she intimated that she was much inclined to contest with her aunt, when arrived at majority, the possession of two or three

great lordships ; but the accession of Rudolph to the empire, having annihilated all chance of success in any contest, she wisely accepted, in lieu, a husband at his hands, in the young count Eberhard, of Lauffenbourg ; whose high lineage and kindred rendered him a very suitable alliance for her.*

The conduct of Rudolph, in giving their spirited young rival in marriage to a princely relative, presents a noble contrast to the cruelty exercised towards Arabella Stuart by James I., the execution of Jane Grey by Mary, and the insults of Elizabeth to all connected with the throne. Anne, grandmother of the empress, and wife of Ulric, count of Kibourg, succeeded to the major part of the possessions of her brother Berthold in Western Helvetia ; and a portion of the Pays de Vaud thus passed also for a time to the

* The history of this young heiress is somewhat singular. The immense possessions to which she was born were either so foolishly or faithlessly administered during her minority, that she and her mother Elizabeth, sister of the Count Palatine of Upper Burgundy, oftentimes experienced much pecuniary distress, and ran great danger of losing the whole, in some measure through the strange custom of the country, which allowed creditors, for even the smallest trifle, either to live, or place some friend at an *Inn*, there to be fed at the expense of the hapless debtor, till it was discharged. From the chicanery and manifold impositions to which a female minor especially might be subjected by such a law, she was rescued by her union, at eighteen, with the count of Lauffenbourg.—*Müller*.

Imperial domains. For this reason the cathedral of Lausanne was consecrated the 19th of October, 1275, in the presence of Rudolph, and the empress Anne, with their four sons and four daughters. The marriage of Anne with her cousin Rudolph, whose early violence of temper and unjust attacks on the property of his relations rendered him extremely unpopular at the period, was considered somewhat imprudent. Perhaps the acuteness of feminine perception enabled Anne to see through the veil which shrouded Rudolph's many glorious qualities, and a not too egotistical estimate of her own, might induce her to hope, that when subject to her gentle admonitions, and no longer harassed for money, he would justify her disinterested choice. Lord Bacon, alluding to the *secret* influence of woman in the domestic relations, observes, "no man ever rises above the level of his wife." Certainly, after Rudolph's union with this superior woman, a great and salutary change gradually displayed itself in all his actions, till he was at length found worthy to wield the sceptre of Charlemagne.

Though Anne had been the mother of ten children, she was yet comparatively young and extremely beautiful, when that awful summons, which awaits on all, was delivered to her; and there is, in the memorial left by her confessor of her last moments, something exceedingly noble and affecting in her expressions on receiving the confirmation that she must endeavour to

efface from her mind the remembrance of the riches, and glory, and happiness, which environed her in this world, to pass into the solitude and nothingness of the grave. She had been some time ill, without however any apprehension of danger, till within a few days of her dissolution, and the mandate to return to the dust from whence she came must have rendered it more appalling. In the language of the period she asked, "what she must now do to inherit Heaven?" The reply of her spiritual director was also characteristic: there was no mention of Christ: she was to resign herself to her doom: forgive her enemies, and leave money to the clergy through the medium of church and convent. She replied immediately:

"I bow to the decree of God; and I as freely forgive those who may have injured me as I hope to be pardoned by my Heavenly Judge." Her will was unmade, and to the settlement of her earthly accounts she now directed all the powers of her unimpaired mind. Her first command was to be buried at Basle, where her youngest child, prince Karl, a boy of seven years of age, had been interred five years previously. She did not, however, assign this as the motive of her wish, but—

"Because my dear lord, the emperor, hath done much disservice to the bishop afore time, it is my desire there to be laid." And the bequest of a sum of money to augment the episcopal revenue, sufficiently large to found two prebends, evinced her sincere wish

to make atonement to the see for the wrongs inflicted by Rudolph both on the bishop and diocess.* Anne left many charitable donations to various religious institutions, with valuable remembrances to her attendants; and having thus, to the best of her knowledge and ability, worthily finished her earthly task, she calmly resigned herself into the hands of her Maker on the eve of St. Matthew, 1281.

The emperor, who was ever greatly attached to this amiable woman, notwithstanding some infidelities which

* Rudolph, though not naturally cruel, in accordance with the barbarity of the age in which he flourished, had cut off the right legs of fifty miserable men, natives of Neuchâtel, who were taken fighting for the bishop a few years before.

In 1789 the enlightened inhabitants of Basle, who received the exiled Jews of Alsace into their very domiciles, were, in many instances, descended from the senators and citizens who, during the plague of 1347, drove the whole Jewish population, men, women, and children, to the amount of several hundreds, into a wooden house, and there burnt them all alive as the authors of the calamity! And at Kibourg, the archduke Albert, from the prevalence of the same dark suspicion of poisoning the water-springs, or of exercising witchcraft against the Christians, was obliged to give up a still greater number to the mad fury of the populace.

The Jews' burial place in Basle was where the arsenal now stands in St. Peter's Square; and the handsome tombstones—for they were a very affluent body—were broken up and taken to line the side of the fosses, at the foot of the town walls, where many with Hebrew characters are still distinctly seen.

had a little clouded her brilliant destiny (for jealousy is the single fault of which Anne was ever accused), prepared to fulfil her last injunctions with the pomp and circumstance which he deemed befitting his love and her rank. The body, after being slightly embalmed with aromatic drugs, and the face, hands, and feet rubbed with some peculiarly precious ointment, was splendidly attired, and then enclosed in a strong coffin, or rather coffer, made of box-wood lined with velvet, skilfully sculptured with representations drawn from sacred history ; stone, at that early epoch, not being so usual on the Continent as wood. The great distance also from Vienna to Basle, when roads were hardly practicable for heavy carriages, might have led to the use of this more frail material. When these preliminary preparations were completed, the coffer was fastened by three padlocks, and reposed in a state apartment hung with black till early in March, when, the heart of winter being over, it was placed in a sort of triumphal chariot, covered with escutcheons, crowns, banners, and heraldic devices. Four monks, two bare-footed, and two Dominican brethren bearing torches, walked on each side, escorted by forty cavaliers. Three rudely-constructed, but magnificent, carriages followed, containing the ladies of the empress's suite ; and a strong detachment of four hundred chosen soldiers, armed at all points, led and closed this melancholy procession from Vienna into Switzerland.

The emperor, at the period of Anne's demise, was contending with the bishop and citizens of Basle, on the pretence of demanding reparation for an alleged wrong, but in reality for the establishment of some of those onerous claims which subsequently, under his descendants, kindled so many bloody wars in his native land; but the empress's dying entreaties for peace, her generous bequests, and an autograph letter from the emperor himself, promising to repay in the amplest manner every expense attendant on her interment, having, at least temporarily, lulled the tempest on each side, the bishop determined to second the emperor's request that it should be marked by extraordinary splendour. He had, in fact, once been confessor to the emperor, and the recollection of the empress's many virtues, as well as her donation to the church, rendered him personally disposed to honour her remains. All the clergy of his diocess received invitations to be present at this august solemnity; and on Thursday, the 19th of March, 1282, he issued from the gates of the episcopal palace at the head of twelve hundred ecclesiastics (of whom six were abbots), priests, conventual and secular, each bearing a lighted waxen torch, to meet the funeral cavalcade at some distance from the city gates. The imperial corpse was received at the door of the cathedral, with all the state and ceremony peculiar to papal pomp, by three other bishops awaiting its arrival with a minor host of

dignitaries, and from thence (amid the chanting of litanies and the chiming of bells) conveyed into the choir, where the coffin was opened, and the deceased empress was placed upon a magnificent throne, which had been erected on a raised platform, surmounted by a dais or canopy of crimson velvet fringed with gold. Her ladies, and the distinguished personages who took a prominent part in the procession, dressed in deep mourning, ranged themselves on either side, whilst the four bishops performed a solemn mass before the awe-stricken multitude, assembled in thousands to witness so strange and appalling a sight. Sumptuous robes of rich silk and velvet enveloped the inanimate form of departed majesty. A veil of white silk floated from her head, and a small but elegant crown of silver gilt rested on her forehead. A collar of gold curiously wrought, containing a rich sapphire and other precious stones, was round her neck; and on the pale fingers of her lifeless hands, crossed over her bosom, glittered many costly gems. When the solemn service for the dead was finished, the body was again re-committed to the coffin, and entombed, amid the weeping of her attendants, in the choir close to that of the young prince Charles.*

The old chronicler has not failed to record that,

* It was not, formerly, uncommon to expose the dead in Germany, and it is still practised in some parts of Italy; but *ever* soon after the spirit has departed—whilst the body, though cold

after this frightful scene, there was a grand entertainment at the bishop's palace, where fifty immense tables were spread with the substantial cheer of olden times, and rich vintage of the Rhine. It would be unjust not to add that great alms were given to the poor, as well as this "*imbismal*" to the hierarchy, for such is the old obsolete Swabian expression, compounded of two words implying the same meaning, employed to describe this famous repast.*

and inanimate, yet seems to retain some affinity to the world it has so recently quitted.

There is, however, a currently received tradition that Pedro I., king of Portugal, who had, whilst crown prince, secretly married Agnes de Castria, cruelly assassinated by the order of his father Alphonso IV., to efface the affront done to royalty in her person, caused, after his accession to the throne, the body of Agnes to be placed on his royal seat, and then fixing a crown on her fleshless brow, solemnly proclaimed her queen, and her children the legitimate successors of his throne. But Mariano, the best historian of the time, makes no mention of this most remarkable circumstance, and, if authentic, the event was nearly 80 years subsequent to the same exhibition in the cathedral at Basle, since the hapless Agnes, whose beauty and virtues merited a better fate, was stabbed in 1357.

Charlemagne was found at Aix-la-Chapelle, 350 years after his interment; but there is no account extant of the ceremonies attending his funeral obsequies, or that he was previously exhibited before inhumation.

* Wursten.—*Conservature Suisse*, Vol. VI, p. 313

There was nothing extraordinary in this part of the ceremonial

The monument that soon arose to the memory of the royal mother and child is still one of the most interesting relics of the cathedral. The effigy of the empress, the size of life, reposes on a bed of state with her young son by her side. Her diadem adorns her brows; her hands are clasped in prayer; and the royal robes she wore, when consigned to dust, have been faithfully represented in all their details by the Italian artist employed to rear this record of her husband's undiminished affection for her, and the pretty boy whose sweet features strongly resemble her own. Her crown, indeed, encircles a head of great beauty; her calm features presenting some trace of the gentle and lovely expression which characterises the face of our own Elizabeth of York, as she sleeps by the side of her cold-hearted lord, who was too apt to regard her as the rival of his throne rather than the partner

of Anne's interment—funeral feasts were not uncommon in the north of England sixty years ago—and the custom dates from a very early period, for it usually succeeded Jewish burials. Thus, after Abner's funeral was solemnized, the people came to David to eat meat with him, though they could not persuade him to do so. He was the chief mourner, and probably had invited them to this banquet. Of this Jeremiah speaks, where he calls it the *cup of consolation, which they drank for their father or mother*; and accordingly the place, where this funeral entertainment was made, is called in the next verse the house of feasting. Hosea calls it the *bread of mourners*.—*Hartwell Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Bible.*

of his bosom. A rich frieze of elaborate workmanship, containing armorial bearings, and the shields of the houses of Habsburg, Kibourg, and Hohenberg, runs around the sides of this costly mansion for the dead ; but she for whom it was so cunningly and carefully erected is no longer its silent possessor.

After the Reformation, to which Basle so powerfully contributed, was finally achieved, the cathedral became the parochial church of the inhabitants ; and the empress Maria Theresa of Germany, reflecting with pain that the mortal remains of her ancestors were dissolving in a building no longer consecrated to the worship of the Romish faith, demanded of the senate of Basle, in 1771, permission to open the tomb, in order to transport their remains to the abbey of St. Blaise in the Black Forest, together with those of eleven other princes and princesses of the house of Habsburg, who, in the lapse of ages, since the empress's death, had been brought for interment near her, or were buried at Koenigsfelden. Of this number the first was a son, nineteen years of age, unfortunately drowned in the Rhine a few months afterwards, with fourteen gentlemen the *élite* of the Austrian nobility, attended by circumstances very analogous to the fate of our young prince, son of Henry I. Hartmann, second son of Rudolph, created landgrave in Alsace, a most gallant amiable youth, not unjustly the idol of his father, who hoped to obtain for him the reversion of the empire,

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had already become so distinguished that Edward I., struck by his chivalrous bearing and early promise, was entering into some negotiations, "with Master John of Derby dean of Litchfield,"* then at Vienna, for a union between him and the eldest princess of England, when he should have succeeded in compelling Philip, count of Savoy, with whom his father was then at variance, to offer homage to the emperor. All was accomplished: a glorious peace terminated the war which the prince, with a degree of valour and skilfulness astonishing for his age, had thus successfully conducted to a brilliant close, and he was, with a numerous retinue, gaily descending the Rhine from Brissach to rejoin his proud and delighted father, when the boat, either by some act of carelessness or one of those sudden accidents which proclaim that "in the midst of life we are in death," entered into a current near Rheinau, where the river is divided by many little isles, struck against the branch of a tree leaning over the water, and was capsized in a moment. The young prince could swim; and he was in safety, when he turned back at the cry of one of his companions, and

* It was in favour of Hartmann that Rudolph, with the concurrence of the barons, meditated to erect into a kingdom the ancient Burgundy-transjurane, Provence, Languedoc, and part of northern Italy, making Arles once more a capital—forming thus a crown set with some of nature's most beautiful jewels.

in the generous effort to preserve him the waves swallowed up both.*

The empress's grandson Leopold, killed at the dreadful battle of Sempach with the flower of the Austrian nobility, was the next visitant to that crowded but silent mansion where the guests exchange no salutations. He was entombed at Kœnigsfielden.

One of the wisest and most merciful decrees of Pro-

* Rhymer has preserved an affecting letter from Rudolph, to Edward I., relative to this sad event; and Rudolph, who never ceased to lament this beloved son, gave subsequently to the chapter of Basle, in memorial of him, the patronage of the churches of Augst and Zeiningen, belonging to the empire, to found two prebends, and enrich two altars in the cathedral. This gift is dated at Lucerne, 18th of Weinmonats (October), 1285, six years before his own death.

There is at Basle a statue of Rudolph, executed during his life, in stone—a coloured likeness, as was usual in the thirteenth century. He is seated on his throne, in one hand is the imperial apple, and the other grasps a sceptre; his sword rests between his knees. He is portrayed a man of noble commanding presence, with a fine aquiline nose, high forehead, and fair but not feminine complexion, of the pure German stock. This very curious and well-preserved remnant of antiquity is to be seen near the porte St. John, within the court of a fine old mansion called the Seiden Hof, the present residence of a banker, and in 1815 temporarily occupied by the emperor Alexander.

Tradition points it out as the sojourn of Rudolph himself, in 1273, just after his election to the empire.

vidence is that which forbids man to look into futurity. Could the just and beneficent empress, who desired to be interred at Basle, as some compensation for the minor wrongs her husband had inflicted on her native country by his early wars, have surmised even the half of those murderous combats which her descendants delivered on the blood-stained soil of Switzerland, her gentle spirit would indeed have been wrung with woe at its departure from earth.

The authorities of Basle and Berne having granted the empress Maria Theresa's request, the four royal personages at Basle were exhumed, and, attended by several ecclesiastics and the deputation from Vienna, at length reached the Abbey of St. Blaise, where all that remained of the emperor Albert, Anne's third son, assassinated by her grandson, the miserable duke John of Swabia, whose patrimonial inheritance he had usurped, and her grand-daughter, Agnes queen of Hungary—great alike in the atrocious crimes she committed to avenge her father's murder, and the consistency with which she inflicted on herself, during fifty years of penitence, the most painful punishments,—had already arrived from Kœnigsfielden, the now secularised convent erected by Agnes and her mother, over the spot where the emperor Albert fell from his horse.

Mrs. Hemans has touched on this scene with her wonted beauty of thought and language :

"A peasant girl that royal head upon her bosom laid,
And, shrinking not for woman's dread, the face of death
surveyed :
Alone she sate. From hill and wood low sunk the mournful
sun ;
Fast gush'd the fount of noble blood. Treason his worst had
done.
With her long hair she vainly press'd the wounds to staunch
their tide ;
Unknown on that meek, humble breast, imperial Albert died."

Here again, amidst the solemn chants and imposing services of the Romish ritual, the mouldering remnants of greatness were once more shrouded from mortal eye ; and a majestic monument soon arose in the church of the monastery under the direction of the abbot Gilbert. In this hallowed sanctuary they reposed together, till the fierce war between the French and Austrians having alarmed the emperor Francis for the safety of these precious relics of his race, exposed to the danger of desecration for the sake of the gold or jewels they might be supposed to contain, he despatched some trusty agents, escorted by a strong body of troops, to disinter and convey them to his dominions. Nearly five hundred years had elapsed since the remains of the empress Anne had quitted Vienna, when this funeral *cortège* reached the metropolis of Germany, and found, it is to be hoped, a final resting-place in the same mausoleum which Maria Theresa had constructed some years previously for her

beloved husband, and illustrious family, under the roof of the Capuchin convent.

When the tomb of the empress was opened at Basle, the coffin, or rather coffer, being found in too decayed a state to encounter a second journey, the padlocks were removed, and the body carefully transferred to one of solid mahogany, in the presence of the German commissioners and Swiss authorities, to whom a very extraordinary and awful spectacle was then exposed. The whole person of the empress was found in a perfect state, changed only to a deep black—her diadem still rested on her brows, and her golden collar encircled her throat—her royal habiliments preserved their graceful contour—but every hue, every shade of colour, had fled.

As the empress Maria Theresa demanded the ashes of her ancestors only, the commissioners gave the Imperial ornaments to the city of Basle, in memorial of a former benefactress, and they remained in the public Museum attached to the library, till the unhappy war of 1830, between Basle City and Basle Campagne, when a division of the public treasure being made, after the settlement of the dispute, they unfortunately fell to the lot of Basle Campagne. Little appreciating these curious wrecks of a by-gone age, they were, with many other relics of the same interesting nature, put up to auction, and sold for less than their intrinsic worth in bullion. The necklace was purchased by a

jeweller, and the crown became the property of a wandering Israelite !*

Sic transit Gloria Mundi.

A letter from this empress, written in 1275, about two years after her elevation to the throne of Germany, preserved in the German chronicle of Tschudi, throwing light at once over the manners of the age and her own character, may not unfitly close this notice. Rudolph of Stauffacher, father of one of the liberators of the Grütli, having, as Ammann or chief magistrate of the district of Schwytz, required the convent of Steinen, a small village in the neighbourhood of the lake of Löwerz within his jurisdiction, to pay a certain contribution levied alike on all landed proprietors, the abbess repeatedly refused, when, in virtue of his office, he arrested a horse belonging to that religious corporation, and declared he would keep possession of it till the sum was duly discharged. The haughty

* Amongst the rich and rare objects thus scattered abroad or lost to posterity, was a votive table in pure gold, offered by Henry II., emperor of Germany, indiscriminately termed the *Lame*, or the *Saint*, who rebuilt the cathedral in 1010. This magnificent relic, which dated from the very commencement of the eleventh century, was made of plates of pure gold exquisitely chiselled, and its graceful proportions recalled the best models of the Byzantine style. It was sold to a gentleman, who carried his cheaply acquired treasure into Holland, and last year was desirous of disposing of it by a public lottery.

abbess, probably far more indignant at this plebeian insult than the loss of the horse, immediately complained in no measured terms of Stauffacher's conduct to the empress, at that time visiting the château of Kybourg in Switzerland; and, doubtless influenced by pious and compassionate motives, she in consequence wrote the following letter :

"Anna by the Grace of God queen of the Romans. To the prudent and honest Ammanns Rudolph of Stauffacher, and Werner of Seeven—Salutation and all good : Know, that having by the good pleasure of our illustrious Lord and King taken under our especial care, protection, and safe guard our dear sisters in Christ, the nuns of Steinen belonging to the Cistercean order in the diocese of Constance, with all their goods and domains, We do not intend that they should be constrained by our officers to the payment of any taxes of whatever sort they may be. Now being informed that you Rudolph of Stauffacher landmann, have seized and do detain a horse belonging to the before mentioned Cistercean nuns of Steinen, We address ourselves to your discretion, and require you immediately to restore the said horse without delay, or opposition of any kind; recommending moreover to you both, Rudolph de Stauffacher and Werner de Seeven, not merely to molest no more in any fashion, but on the contrary to defend in all their rights and privileges, these the said holy sisters with all your

power faithfully, and on every occasion, against the insults and vexations of others. Given at Kybourg the fourth day of September of the second year of the reign of our aforesaid Lord and King. — Anna.”* The style of this epistle is right royal, showing that Anne was fully imbued with a sense of her importance, and had glided gracefully into her high position; but she had yet to learn that an empress is not an emperor! and the lesson was speedily taught her by the stout old landmann. Undismayed by this queenly mandate, he addressed himself forthwith to the fountain-head of power, through the medium of Conrad Hanno, who lived in the vicinity of Steinen, and had fought with Rudolph on many a battle-field, and represented that the tax† demanded was both equitable

* “*Conservateur Suisse*,” Vol. ix, p. 220

There is considerable difficulty in determining baptismal names in Swiss and German history. Agnes, mother of the emperor Henry IV., is occasionally called Innes. Müller styles the wife of Rudolph of Habsburg, Gertrude—Würstisen invariably speaks of her as Anna—whilst Tschudi names her indiscriminately Anna or Gertrude. Her own letter is signed Anna alone. It is therefore probable that after her elevation to the Imperial Crown, she relinquished her first appellation, and, like our beloved queen, adopted exclusively her second.

† Distraints of cattle were common for the payment of public rates of whatever nature. The dean and chapter of Lausanne, at a later period, having refused to pay their appointed quota towards the necessary repair of the town walls, were in likè

and necessary for the well-being and good government of the country. Rudolph, who was naturally frank and generous as well as politic, especially in the earlier period of his career, before the influence of his sons warped his better feelings, listened to the reasonable arguments of his old comrade in arms ; and, despite of his attachment to Anne, pronounced in favour of Stauffacher, though she had also endeavoured to strengthen her cause by enlisting into the service of the nuns of Steinen, Rudolph's especial friend, count Hartmann of Baldegk.*

When Maria Theresa terminated her reign, most of the noble families who had devoted their lives and fortunes to the primitive aggrandizement of the house of Habsburg were extinct ; and continual wars be-

manner visited by the seizure of some cows ; on which occasion they threatened a papal excommunication against the perpetrators of the offence. But the age was growing hourly bolder, and the burghers kept the cows till, the hapless dignitaries pining for milk, discharged the debt.

* This was not the only instance where his love of justice was displayed under similar circumstances : in 1289, he decided in the same way a contest between the constituted authorities and Conrad of Tellendorf, governor of Kybourg, whom a body of nuns had surprised into a charter of exemption. The general unpopularity of such immunities is attested by the fact that the peasants of Schwytz, long afterwards, sold to Conrad Hanno, then grown grey in the service of his country, a propriety, for ten livres, worth as many hundred florins.

tween the Imperial family and the Swiss had long alienated them from the country, without, however, destroying all those feelings and reminiscences which render ancestral possessions so dear to the heart; for Frederick III. visited the half-devastated towers of Habsburg just after his accession to the throne of Germany in 1440; and on seeing them evinced a degree of sensibility very foreign to his usual stoicism of character and coldness of demeanour. In 1815 the emperor Francis II., after the conclusion of the war, also made a pilgrimage of sentiment to the ruins of Habsburg, accompanied only by the burgomaster of the little adjacent town of Brugg; and found the fortress in which Rudolph first drew his breath had experienced the common lot of ancient buildings, where—

“The peasant holds the lordly pile,
And cattle fill the roofless aisle:”—

where the stream, that once defended the frowning battlements of the haughty occupant, is often diverted from its pristine course to turn, for the benefit of the descendants of his serfs, the merry wheel of some tiny manufactory; whilst webs of cloth, and heaps of linen hanging to dry or to bleach on the crumbling walls, replace the proud banners that formerly floated over them. The position of Habsburg, perched on a steep

insular mountain, forbid this species of commercial degradation ; but grass grew luxuriantly in its halls and courts ; and the massive old keep or donjon, built by the gold of Werner, bishop of Strasbourg, to increase the importance of his elder brother the first count, was converted into a shot tower !

Anne was sojourning at Habsburg, when a crowd of titled dames and belted knights came to congratulate her on her lord's unexpected elevation to the most powerful throne in Europe. And it is orally recorded that, whilst the emperor Francis was gazing with intense interest on this ruined cradle of a long line of emperors, an old woman whose dishevelled silver hair was hardly shaded by a ragged kerchief, looking through the thick iron bars of the mullioned window, where tradition states that Anne stood to receive the courtly train, screamed out her wonder, "that any one like a gentleman could take pleasure in beholding such a miserable old tenement."

The career of Rudolph, says Müller, presents a noble example to young men of ardent temperament, whose youthful passions have led them astray at the outset of life, not to despair that their early errors may yet be redeemed by the wise government of their future lives. Before he was forty years of age, Rudolph had made war on almost all his family in furtherance of his ambitious views on their patrimony ; his own inheritance being far too inadequate to satisfy his desires

after wealth and power. He was twice excommunicated as a Ghibelin, and again for having, in his quarrels with the bishop of Basle, burnt the convent of the penitent sisters of St. Mary Magdalen, situated in a faubourg of the city. Probably in atonement for this offence, he joined the crusade of Ottocar, king of Bohemia, against the infidels of Prussia, who had for fifty years struggled against the chevaliers of the Teutonic order in defence of their liberty and heathen gods. His union with his cousin Gertrude, whose heart had been unable to withstand the attractions of his handsome person and chivalrous bearing, notwithstanding his family offences, seems to have been the first step towards his reformation; and although he had absolutely forced two of his uncles to give away the major part of their possessions merely to escape his persecutions, he was thenceforth admitted into the kindred circle again; a great act of Christian and kinsmanly forgiveness, which ultimately paved the way to the extraordinary elevation of their house to the imperial dignity through a member who, after having been so flagrant a violator of all laws, was elected expressly to establish the order and tranquillity of a mighty realm. Nor did he disappoint the expectations of those who saw in him the glorious Prince Hal of our own country. Active, simple, popular, wise, and valorous,—in everything the man of his age,—he accomplished great things without violent measures; and while vigilant for the state, never lost

sight of his own house, building it up, however, with prudent caution and slowness, which his son Albert neglecting, in his eager wish to complete the work, lost his life.*

One of two much-aggrieved uncles subsequently appointed him his heir ; the descendants of the other, the count of Lauffenbourg-Habsburg, were doomed by his early violence to a different destiny and expatriation to a distant land. After valiantly defending his aged father against this turbulent cousin, Godfrey, son of the old count of Lauffenbourg-Habsburg, seeing resistance useless, yielded to necessity, and made an onerous peace ; but not till he was so impoverished that his eldest son, William, count of Lauffenbourg-Habsburg, lord of Lauffenbourg and of Rhinfelding in Germany, with no other riches than his titles and admirable qualities, passed into England, where he obtained a rank inferior indeed to that which he had abandoned, but still illustrious.

The imperial line of Rudolph was extinguished in the person of Maria Theresa, empress of Germany, but many descendants of the self-exiled count of Lauffenbourg still exist, amongst others, the noble family of Fielding, earl of Denbigh. There is a long Latin notice of this branch of the house of Habsburg in Müller's German History of the Swiss ; and it is curious

* Müller.

to mark the various changes in the spelling of the name of these former lords of Rhinfelding—now occupying a seat in the British Parliament—Fildying, Felden, Filden, Fielding.

THE NUNS' WAR.

AN HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Reformation der weissen Schweistern mit den Schwartzzen pletzen.*—*Würstisen. Great Chronicle of Basel.*

Prediger wollen die Frauen zu Clingenthal reformieren, als sie nicht gehorchen, stossen sie die aus ihrem Kloster: das giebt Anlass einer offenen Feindschaft, dadurch Herren und Städte bemühet werden.—*Würstisen.*

Mais il était moins difficile de terminer heureusement ces sortes d'affaires, et même des guerres considérables, que les tracasseries de vingt-quatre religieuses dans le couvent de Klingenthal au Petit-Bâle. Soustraites depuis nombre d'années à l'ordre de Saint Dominique, elles jouissaient d'une indépendance peu compatible avec la vie claustrale. Le Pape Sixte IV. l'apprit et rendit le monastère à l'ordre religieux. On n'avait pas achevé la lecture de la bulle, que les nonnes déclarèrent à grands cris qu'elles brûleraient plutôt le couvent.—*Conservateur Suisse.*

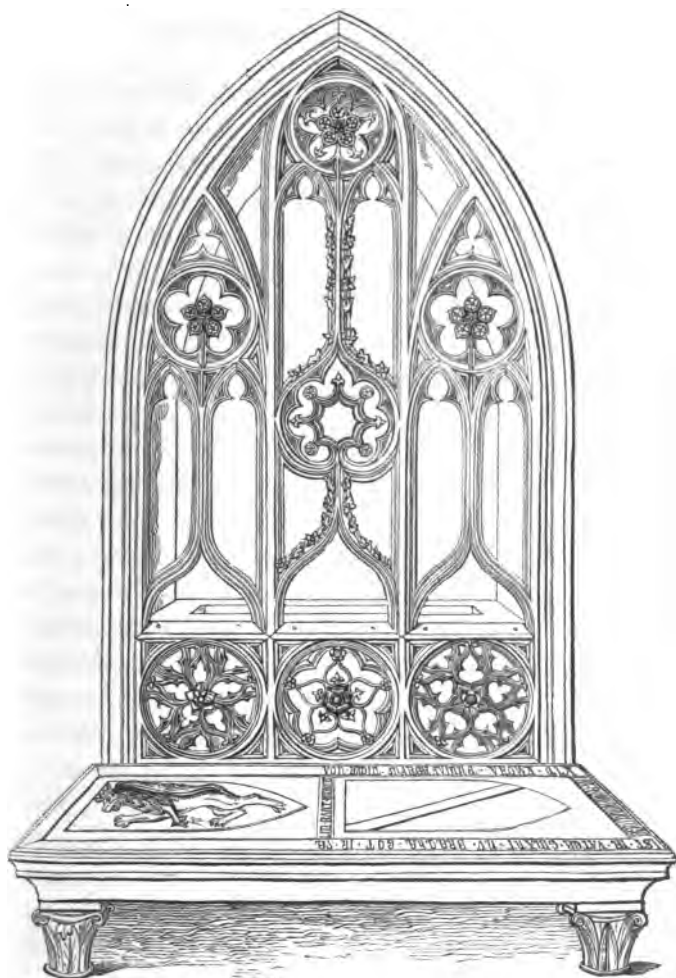
BASLE—SWITZERLAND. 1480—1484.

THE traveller, however brief his sojourn at Basle, cannot fail to remark the solid battlements which crown

* Reformation of the white and black sisters of the convent of Klingenthal. *Pletzen*, a very old Swabian expression, mean-

the opposite shore of the Rhine, and the mass of buildings within, surmounted by a dilapidated church of extremely beautiful architecture: should his curiosity tempt him to cross the fine old bridge, which spans the wide and rapid Rhine, and then turn up a dark narrow street to the left, he will find at its extremity the mouldering, but most extensive remains of a religious house, now in part converted into a hospital for invalid soldiers. Mullioned windows, from which hang files of shirts and stockings; Gothic doorways, half blocked up by bricks, and turf and faggots; fragments of stone of exquisite workmanship, on which the skilful sculptor had lavished long days of painful labour, profusely scattered over the well-trodden dirty court-yards, tell a lesson of fallen grandeur, and present a picture of by-gone splendour not to be mistaken. Reader, that desolate dwelling was once the home of the noblest ladies of Europe! the silent aisles of that deserted

ing portions or places. Their veils, which fell, somewhat like a scarf from the head, over the shoulders behind, were lined with black. Würstisen has perpetuated the costume of the nuns of Klingenthal, and that of the rival monks, in two coarse woodcuts, such as adorned some of the earliest copies of Chevy-chase, and the Seven Champions of Christendom—the delight of our childhood, whose expressiveness is ample apology for the lack of pictorial beauty. It must be borne in mind by the German scholar of 1854, that Würstisen wrote nearly three hundred years ago.



WINDOW OF THE CONVENTUAL CHURCH OF KLINGENTHAL, WITH TOMBS OF
THE BARONS OF KLINGEN.

FROM A DRAWING ENGRAVED AT BASLE, 1847.

[To face page 42, Vol. I.]



church, converted into stables and granaries, yet enclose the dust of princes, nobles, prelates, abbesses, and titled damsels, whose well-authenticated gentle blood could alone have procured them the honour of reposing within its hallowed precincts. A society of Dominican nuns were the possessors of this once sacred edifice—here for many centuries their superior reigned in sovereign power, independent of all control but that of the supreme head of the Romish church. What a lesson on the mutability of life—on the evanescent nature of earthly pomp and worldly grandeur—may be learnt from these crumbling ruins! Of all the noble ladies who lived and died within their holy enclosure, not a name,—scarcely a trace exists in this their seat of empire! Beyond the vaulted roof of the desecrated chapel, where escutcheons richly painted and gilded of the abbesses, each a countess of the Roman empire in her own right, still gleam through the cobwebs of ages, no trace of them remains! And yet—strange mutation of mortal things! a vestige of their former glory—a relic of feminine workmanship almost as fresh as when it passed from the fair and skilful fingers so long buried in the dust of Time, fitly survives to recal to remembrance their being and their deeds, amongst the neglected hoards of a mere curiosity collector in a retired street of Great Basle! In 1849 might be seen for sale the splendid orange-coloured cloth that covered on high days and holidays the table of the parlour at

Klingenthal. A deep border composed of armorial bearings, each surmounted by a coronet most exquisitely and elaborately embroidered with coloured silks of every tint—the shades so intimately blended as to appear rather the production of the painter's pencil than the lady's needle, surrounded this beautiful, but unhonoured, specimen of the taste and luxury of the ladies of Klingenthal. Graphic monument of the instability of all human greatness!

About the middle of the thirteenth century, a small female community, under the rigid rule of St. Dominic, settled near St. Lienharts Munster, in the bleak village of Heuseren, at the foot of Rouffach in Alsace, a picturesque antique little town, situated high up on the Vosgian chain of mountains, under the protection of a powerful baron, the ruins of whose feudal towers still attract and delight the eye of the traveller between Strasbourg and Basle. Their charter of endowment emanated from pope Innocent IV., and was dated from Lyons 1245, whither he had fled from the wrath of the emperor Frederick II., whom he had excommunicated. In this retired residence they remained scarcely eight years. Discontented with the wildness of the country and the insignificance of their domain, they quitted this, their first foundation; and conducted by their prioress, Adelaïde of Uttenheim, a lady of ancient race, proceeded, at the beginning of 1253, to establish another convent in the valley of Werra, in the heart of the

Black Forest ; assured of the protection of the baron Walter of Clingen, a nobleman equally affluent and devout, the possessor of a strongly fortified castle in the forest, of many great fiefs, and amongst others that of Clingnau in Argovia, one of the principal divisions of ancient Switzerland.

Convents were at that period in all the *odeur* of *sainteté* ; few if any revelations had then been made to tarnish the lustre of their reputation for holiness ; wherever they arose, notwithstanding many exclusive privileges usually possessed by their inmates, the workman generally found employment,* the people amusement, and the higher classes of society a safe asylum to which they could consign the female branches of the family for education in their early years, or that veiled seclusion which the Catholic religion teaches is acceptable to the Almighty, and worldly considerations often rendered so desirable to

* C'est pour cette raison que la fondation d'un couvent ou celle d'un château avoit toujours pour conséquence la construction d'un misérable village où se rassembloient, à l'ombre de la grande maison, les hommes dont le travail étoit nécessaire au maître.—*Histoire de la Chute de l'Empire Romain*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi.

There is extant a curious list of all sorts of occupations, from sculptors and jewellers, to beer and bread makers, made out by Charlemagne for the use of his stewards, who were required to find workmen, *good* in all these different arts, for the use of *each* of his castles.

themselves as a provision for daughters born of noble but necessitous houses. The baron of Clingen did not disappoint the expectations of the prioress and her nuns: he received them honourably, and three years afterwards, although he had previously given them much aid, he bestowed on the *naissant* establishment, with the consent of Sophia his wife, his son Walter, and his brother Ulric Walter, land both for pasturage, and tillage; a very extensive tract of forest to supply them with the wood necessary for building and fuel; a right of fishery, together with the tithes of the church of Werra, and power of appointing the *Pfaffe*, or parish priest (a privilege commonly granted in former times to the founders of a religious corporation, whether male or female) on the not onerous condition of paying the stipend of the priest, and offering up prayers for the souls of himself and family. This princely donation, which is dated from Clingnau, the second of September 1256, was subsequently confirmed by his son and successor, Walter of Clingnau, and the bishop of Constance in whose diocess Clingnau was situated.

Thus amply endowed, the nuns carried on their various works with great energy—they enlarged the narrow boundary of their convent walls, and soon a building, far more considerable than the one they had left, arose in the vicinity of the little town of Steignegk, belonging to the baron; which out of gratitude to

him, and from its position in a fertile valley, they named Klingenthal (*thal*, dale, valley). Notwithstanding the heavy expense of rearing such an edifice, the nuns found themselves so rich at the expiration of three more years, that they were enabled to extend their territorial limits by the purchase of the forest of Ehwald from their benefactor himself, whose numerous offspring and generous disposition had probably drained his resources; and in process of time they became, by the exchange of other property, the possessors of the whole of the tithes of Werra, with a power of holding courts of justice through the intermediation of law-agents appointed by themselves. Immense as this privilege now appears, it was not uncommon at that distant epoch. They were presumed to be enlightened and impartial; and, if the mayor or judges, who administered the laws of the country, did not give satisfaction, the parties could often appeal from the sentence to the abbess or prioress of some important convent thus endowed, who was regarded by the people as a mother; and they were generally considered to act as such with compassion, justice, and liberality, to all their subjects.*

Every successive year added to the wealth and importance of the Sisters of Klingenthal, and witnessed some improvement in their extensive demesnes; but they were not destined to end their earthly pilgrimage

* Tschudi.

in the little interior square court, surrounded with cloisteral arcades in the sacred precincts of their own walls, which custom has usually assigned as the final resting-place of the votaries of a monastic life.

At the turbulent period which just preceded the elevation of Rudolph, count of Habsburg, to the imperial throne, Rudolph was waging war against Henry of Gradenenthal, bishop of Basle, who counted among his most faithful adherents the baron of Clingnau: in the contest, his stately castle of Werra was seized by Rudolph, and burnt to the ground. The baron and his family were fortunately residing in another part of their domain, where they were compelled to remain. The nuns, no longer under his shelter, experienced the common lot of the unprotected in the vicinity of contending armies. Besides encountering many rude insults from the undisciplined troops of Rudolph, they were twice pillaged—their miserable vassals and serfs, hunted and worried like wild animals, became incapable of discharging either their pecuniary obligations, or those of service, still more valuable; and under these calamitous circumstances, continually harassed by the fear of plunder and violence, and convinced that if they failed to satisfy the rapacious demands of these military freebooters, their convent would experience the same fate as the baron's castle, they judged it expedient to retreat from the scene of warfare. Collecting, therefore, what remained of

former wealth, they withdrew secretly to Basle, within whose double inclosure of strong fortifications they hoped to find safety till the danger was over.

In the spring of 1273, the disconsolate party arrived, and hired a small retired dwelling, surrounded by gardens, in Minder, or Little Basle, which had obtained the honour of walls and a protecting ditch two years previously. In this humble abode they had soon the grief of learning that the convent of Klingenthal, on whose erection and decoration they had expended such enormous sums, and the assiduous attention of seventeen years, thus apparently abandoned, had become the prey of the followers of both the belligerents. Every article capable of removal was carried off, and the whole building so utterly devastated, that all future hope of return must be relinquished. Thus homeless, they determined on remaining where they were, and they found in the young baron of Clingen, who had extensive connections in Basle, a warm and influential friend, anxious to second their wishes to the utmost of his power.

But the location of a monastery, however it might be desired, in the half-populated villages of Alsace and Switzerland, was not accomplished without difficulty in a great city; more from the jealousy of the different conventual orders themselves, than any other cause. Of these Basle had already several within her bosom; and at Minder-Basle there also existed two communi-

ties, one of which, the brother-preachers of St. Dominic, had received, when they began the construction of their convent fifty years before, a joint charter from the pope and bishops of Basle and Constance to whose jurisdiction Minder-Basle was amenable ; that no other monastic establishment should ever be allowed to fix within a very considerable distance of their domicile.

Whilst yet in doubt as to their future destiny, Rudolph of Habsburg was most unexpectedly raised to the Imperial throne, at the very time he lay encamped in battle array before the city ; and the inhabitants of Basle, on receiving the information, immediately threw open their gates, and despatched a deputation to welcome their sovereign, who soon afterwards made a triumphal entry. The war thus singularly as well as happily terminated, brought peace and prosperity even to the desolate fugitives from Klingenthal. Rudolph, naturally chivalrous and well-disposed, on learning the sad detail of their misfortunes, which arose from his dispute with the bishop, and their wish to establish themselves in Minder-Basle, interceded for them not only with the two bishops of Basle and Constance, but with the prior of the fraternity of Dominican monks, who had hitherto chiefly opposed their residence within the prescribed boundary. The ice thus broken by royal hands, the course of the nuns experienced no further impediments. The Swabian nobility, many of whom had winter residences in Basle, and the citizens

seemed to vie with each other in affording assistance and countenance to a helpless female community, which had suffered so much from dissensions now happily adjusted by imperial interference. The brother-preachers not limiting their benevolence to the mere sacrifice of their exclusive privilege, collected large sums from various confraternities of Dominicans, to whose rule they were subject, to enable them to lay the foundation of their new cloister; whilst the burgomaster and council of Basle gave up a considerable extent of ground for the site of the proposed edifice and a surrounding garden. Under these favourable auspices they commenced a spacious structure environed with massive walls at Minder-Basle, separated from the city so named by the Rhine, across which the beautiful wooden bridge which now exists had been recently thrown. And soon on the banks of that "exulting and abounding river," this, their third habitation, became the largest and most sumptuous religious institution in the rich and populous canton of Basle.

A return to peace and good order in the country brought back, also, a great part of the revenues of their ancient possessions in the valley of Werra. Land never disappears,—not one stone now remains upon another to mark the boundary line of the once extensive conventual buildings, but a green meadow, sheltered by lime and walnut-trees, still bears the name of Klingenthal.

Five years after their settlement at Little Basle, the "Sisters of Klingenthal,"—the title they still chose to retain, out of gratitude to the family of the original founder,—received a new and important distinction. The senate of Basle, not to be behindhand in piety, or loyalty, or gallantry, towards those "whom the king delighted to honour," granted them, in addition to their former donation of land, the rights and immunities of citizenship in the great city, together with many other civic advantages and endowments. The diploma, most graciously worded, declares, "that the burgomaster and citizens of Basle will preserve the 'Sisters of Klingenthal' as carefully as the apple of their eye, and never permit, as far as they can help it, the least infringement of their rights, or that they shall be cited before any tribunal but their own; on condition, nevertheless, that for the well-being and good of the community in general, and for the sake of wholesome example, they, the said pious sisters, shall serve the Lord uninterruptedly; chanting daily services in their church, and follow their rules as a sober Sisterhood, dedicated to holiness and good works."*

On the seventeenth day of May, 1297, their beautiful church was finally completed, and solemnly consecrated with great pomp and splendour by Boniface, suffragan or vicar-general of the bishop of Basle, who

* "Conservateur Suisse," Art. 39, p. 390.

was in declining health. It was dedicated to the Virgin, and, from that epoch, part of the highest nobility of the canton and its environs selected the choir for their sepulchre. Tombs bearing the escutcheons of the counts of Kybourg and Habsburg, ancestors of the imperial line now occupying the throne of Germany—the barons of Neuchâtel, and many other counts and knights, successively arose, in all the heavy magnificence of the succeeding age, within the profusely adorned walls of this once beautiful Gothic building.

The monuments of Walter Clingen and his wife (whose bodies were removed to Basle) with their three daughters—Clara, margravine of Baden, Katherine, countess of Pfirt, and Verena, countess of Veringen, as founders and founders' kin, were buried before the high altar; where was also inhumed Simon of Thierstein, with whom they were connected by marriage.*

* Simon of Thierstein flourished about a hundred years after the foundation of Klingenthal. The gentleness of his conduct in the domestic relations of life, is thus artlessly attested by an old writer. Count Simon married Verena, daughter and co-heiress of the baron of Nidau; and having one day before he went on a long journey, sent a handsome young varlet to prison, in the castle of Wallenbourg, the countess, after her husband's departure, ordered his release. The castellan not daring either to comply or give up the keys, the lady proceeded into the dungeons, and with a hatchet, herself broke off the locks and

He had, however, other and far greater claims to this antique religious honour. Forgetting the spirit of *caste*, he was gratefully known to posterity by nobly stepping forward to unite in a treaty made with the Balois, to preserve by force of arms liberty of commerce and the security of the high roads against several lawless barons, knights, and squires; who exercised brigandage with such unblushing effrontery and violence, that the merchants were previously obliged to go in numerous companies escorted by a

fetters that bound the captive. The good count, on learning what had happened from the castellan, only shook his head, saying, the countess was a noble dame of great spirit. John of Vienne, bishop of Basle, declared war against him and his brother-in-law, count of Habsburg, who married this spirited lady's sister, because they had not received from the Episcopal bench the investiture of the lordship of Nidau, and each paid a very large fine to appease his resentment.

Beauty, genius, and valour are said to be sometimes hereditary in favoured races; the possession of the former appears to have distinguished the baronial family of Klingen. The three daughters of Walter, first founder of Klingenthal, were considered eminently beautiful, and made splendid connexions; for the count of Pfirt, though not at the head of a royal house, was connected with royalty, Johanna, his aunt, having married the archduke Albert, of Austria; and he had extensive domains with a stronghold, two miles only from Basle.—Albert, almost the last shoot of the fast-withering genealogical tree of Klingen, has been transmitted to posterity as a singularly handsome man, by several historians.

strong body of troops when they journeyed from one town to another.*

* The portrait of St. Louis, sitting under an oak tree in the wood of Vincennes, to hear causes and administer justice, so pleasingly presented by Joinville, is a picture not peculiar to France. Many such might be seen in Switzerland, where the laws were also so imperfect (often not even written) that symbols and striking circumstances, engraved on the memories of the aged, were permitted to establish facts and precedents, which could not otherwise be supported, to assist the decision of the judge. One of these primitive scenes is recorded by Müller, relative to this illustrious family. One day Count Otto, of Thierstein, came with a very great number of lords and others, as well vassals as men-at-arms, and seated himself under the great lime tree, before the village of Prattelen, in a vast and magnificent arm-chair, ornamented with gold buttons, and his standard-bearer, with his banner unfurled behind, to wait in the midst of his people, all seated on chairs beside him, for the Sire of Ramstein, who was expected to come to provoke him to single combat. But the Sire Götzmann, of Eptingen, holding his young son by the hand, came to pray him not to trouble him in his own village of Prattelen, and not to seat himself there. The count answered, "Götzmann, this will not cause thee any injury." Götzmann replied, "Lord, many strangers come here, and they might believe that you have the right to judge in my village, which may be an injury to me and mine." Then the count rising up, said, "I am sorry for it. Sell me some straw, that we may go and seat ourselves out of thy jurisdiction." And the remembrance of this circumstance by an old man, who had nearly completed a century, was subsequently admitted as a proof that the sires of Eptingen had a right to administer justice at Prattelen.

His ancestor, count Hermann of Thierstein, whose beneficence raised from their ruins many private houses, and repaired several churches after the earthquake in 1356, so fatal to Basle and the adjacent villages, reposed by his side, whilst the remains of many other nobles and patriots were mingled together in the solemn aisles and richly decorated chapels of this hallowed sanctuary.

The convent of Klingenthal had hardly been established on a solid footing, ere its funds were further augmented by bequests and rich gifts from the nobles of Swabia, Alsace, and Switzerland,—all emulous to procure for themselves “treasures, which neither moth nor rust can corrupt,” by bestowing a portion of their earthly possessions on this favoured community, soon regarded as scarcely less patrician than that of the noble ladies of Zurich; and its spacious corridors and cloisters were ere long peopled with nuns sprung from the first families of these countries. Some were placed there in their earliest childhood, orphans whose guardians deemed it the safest and most honourable shelter for their wealth and innocence; others, destined by their parents from infancy to a religious life, scarcely knew any other home; many entered in their first bloom, voluntary victims, willingly sacrificing their charms on the altar of faith; and not a few, when weary of the world or disappointed in some darling hope of love or ambition;—but all alike, under the

cloisteral habit and vow of humility, preserved the pride of birth and haughtiness of demeanour which they had inherited from their ancestors, or brought with them from the feudal castles and courts of their parents.

During the first forty years of their abode at Little Basle, the annals of the nuns are exceedingly meagre of incident, and, excepting a brief notice of the sojourn of the baroness of Wartz, uninteresting. It is recorded by many contemporary writers that, after witnessing the dreadful execution of her young and gallant husband, broken on the wheel for supposed participation in the assassination of the emperor Albert, she walked barefooted to Basle, and there, in a few days, expired within the sanctuary of a monastery. But it is not generally known that Klingenthal received this perfect model of a fond faithful wife and strong-minded woman. Tradition, a far safer guide in Switzerland than many other countries, because it is in the very essence of her children to treasure up the legendary lore of their forefathers, has preserved some sad particulars of her mournful history; and, as the sister-in-law of the prioress, they may not be deemed irrelevant in this sketch of Klingenthal.

Gertrude, sister of the baron of Palm or Balm, had married her brother's friend Rudolph, baron of Wartz, an accomplished spirited young nobleman of ancient lineage in Helvetia. He held an appointment about

the person of duke John of Austria, nephew of the emperor Albert, and his father had previously filled some important function in the establishment of the young duke's father. Wartz was further bound to his royal master by the ties of friendship, for they had been playfellows; and it was remembered, to aggravate the suspicion of his guilt, that he had sometimes unguardedly permitted himself to express his sentiments on the unjust conduct of the emperor in retaining duke John's paternal inheritance after he had attained his majority. Wartz had been married scarcely three years when the emperor was assassinated whilst riding out after dinner with his nephew John of Swabia, the baron of Balm, Walter von Eschenbach, and the baron of Wartz. The emperor had crossed the ferry of the Reuss near Windisch in Argovia, May 1308, in a small boat, leaving his suite on the opposite bank to await his return from a short visit to the château of Habsburg; and it is supposed that, in a sudden outburst of rage, duke John seized on the moment, so singularly and fatally offered, to sheathe his lance in the neck of the usurper. The Rubicon was passed. The baron of Balm followed up the blow by a stroke of his sword, and Walter von Eschenbach cleft his skull with a felling stroke that levelled him to the earth. Wartz alone took no share in the murder; and solemnly asserted his ignorance of the designs of duke John, his brother-in-law, and Eschenbach, whilst

his broken limbs were quivering on the wheel. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to imagine the deed premeditated ; for it was perpetrated in broad daylight, in the sight of a large retinue of armed attendants, and almost under the windows of the imperial residence. The assassins had made no preparations for their flight afterwards ; and although they all escaped except the baron of Wartz, it was mainly through the astonishment and fear of the emperor's other attendants, who also fled in the horror and panic of the moment : they were destitute of money or other resources, and found their way, separately, into different concealments, disguised as beggars, where they met the miserable doom usually awarded, even in this world, to assassins ; for, whatever the wrong sustained, the laws of Heaven and of society alike forbid man to be his own avenger.*

* It is reported by some writers, that the morning preceding this terrible occurrence, duke John had warmly importuned his uncle for admission to his birthrights, and that the emperor, who had ever purposely withheld him from any participation in manly exercises, sent him at dinner a crown of flowers, with an intimation that he was better fitted to pass his time in the society and amusements of ladies than in the government of a kingdom. * * * * Arrived on the other side of the river, the prince again implored his uncle to reëstimate his heritage ; and, on receiving a more decided and angry refusal than heretofore, struck the emperor with his poignard.—*La chronique d'Albert de Strasbourg*. Con : Suisse. Vol. II, p. 270.

The prince, after dragging out a wretched existence many months, went to Avignon, confessed the crime to Clement V., and was spiritually absolved; but given up to secular punishment. His sentence of death was commuted into perpetual imprisonment, under the rigours of which he died at the early age of 25, in the Augustine convent at Pisa.* The baron of Eschenbach wandered into Wurtemberg where, for thirty-five years, he supported the horrors of remorse, and the multiplied hardships of a shepherd's precarious life in the mountains, unknown and unsuspected by the rude associates of his labours till death revealed his former state. At the period of the emperor's assassination he was in the prime of life, and possessed of immense estates, besides being lord of the fortified town of Maschwanden. His possessions were appropriated to building the expiatory

* There is a tradition so popular that it has attained a place in many Swiss annals, that during his wanderings in the wild mountains of the country to which he was born heir, the wretched prince was supported by a young female peasant, to whose industry and ingenuity he owed his preservation for so long a period. — Seventy years afterwards, an aged, poverty-stricken man, of majestic mien, whose silver hair shaded features of great beauty, might be seen in the streets of Vienna: though almost blind, he seldom begged—but at intervals, when he fancied he recognised a face of uncommon benevolence, he would approach, and say in a low voice, "Pity the miserable son of the miserable duke John of Swabia."—*La chronique d'Albert de Strasbourg.*

convent of Koenigsfelden, and his only son, at the intercession of a pitying priest, rescued from the fate of the infant heir of Wartz to be brought up as a scullion in the kitchen of the empress Elizabeth ; whilst his destitute wife and two hapless daughters took refuge in a convent. The baron of Palm fled to Basle, where he ended his existence in the humble capacity of lay-brother in a monastery, earning his bitter bread by various menial occupations ; he survived this woeful change in his destiny many sorrowful years, avowing with deep contrition his crime and name on his death bed. An esquire of the prince, named Finstingen, and his tutor the baron of Tegerfelden, present at the terrible scene, though not otherwise implicated, were never heard of more alive ; but some circumstances led to the belief that they had perished miserably of cold and hunger in the mountains of Appenzell.

The fate of Wartz was far more terrible—if guilty, he had small time for repentance—if innocent, what a doom was his ! For nearly six months he wandered from forest to forest, and rock to rock, a prey to every species of personal suffering : cold, hunger, thirst, nakedness, and fear. His miserable existence prolonged only through the fidelity of a foster brother, who having lived with him as a servant from infancy, resolved on sharing his fate, and swam across the Reuss to join him, whilst the rest of the suite fled away, leaving the emperor extended on the ground

bathed in blood. Relying, it is said, on his innocence, the unhappy man at length determined to confide himself to a friend and relation, the count Diebolt von Blamont, from whose château in Burgundy he intended to escape into Provence, where he had connexions, through whose mediation he hoped to obtain the pope's countenance, as a preliminary step towards an application for pardon to the house of Austria. The count, it is thought, was disposed to favour the wretched man's flight, but the countess, who was distantly allied to the imperial family, either influenced by fear, or a sense of justice, emanating from a belief in his guilt, worked upon her husband to betray him. Alas ! that a female heart could so mistake its duty ! Wartz had not lifted his hand against the emperor*—more than a thousand victims, the relatives of the assassins, had already expiated with their lives a crime of which they were totally guiltless ; and, even had he possessed a criminal knowledge of the intention of his master duke John, how could he have come forward to denounce him ? The struggle between justice and hospitality thus decided, Wartz was taken prisoner with his man-servant, and soon afterwards surrendered to duke Leopold, brother of the late emperor Albert, who had offered an immense reward for his apprehension ; and as the price of blood was accepted by count Diebolt von Blamont, it is but fair to sur-

* Müller, Mallet, MS. Chronicle of Bullinger.

mise that the countess had not experienced much difficulty in overcoming his sense of what was due to a fugitive guest, relying on his generosity. So deeply indeed was his estimation in society compromised by this mercenary act, that he was considered to have sold a friend, rather than denounced a criminal, and retained through life the appropriate epithet of "merchant."

By a refinement of cruelty, Russelin, baron von Wartz's faithful servant, was broken alive on the wheel at Ensigheim in his presence, that he might have a foretaste of his own sufferings; and a few weeks afterwards he was dragged by wild horses to the scene of his own execution, the spot where Albert fell. When delivered into the hands of duke Leopold, he boldly denied his guilt, and demanded that in virtue of his rank he should be permitted to defend his innocence by his sword, according to the customs of chivalry, which allowed a nobleman to offer wager of battle if accused of crime. When this aristocratical privilege was denied him he lost courage, and interceded for his own life and that of his foster brother, with "bitter tears and strong cries." But when the horrible doom of Russelin, who was repeatedly put to the torture to obtain some shadow of evidence against himself, convinced him all hope of pardon was futile, he recovered his native firmness, and awaited the dreadful summons to death with manly fortitude. He

had then no measures to keep, and he declared that although perfectly ignorant of the crime imputed to him, and convinced that it was *unpremeditated* on the part of duke John of Swabia, he considered it a just punishment of the emperor's cruel conduct towards his orphan nephew ; and, further, avowed his belief in a popular suspicion that Albert had himself caused the death of his predecessor the emperor Adolphus of Nassau.

The miserable man was extended on the scaffold, on the point of receiving the first blow, when the horror-stricken crowd, assembled to witness this fearful sight, made way for a female in deep mourning, whose wan pale face, and eager efforts to approach the scene of suffering, overcame all obstacles to her desire. She walked steadily forward, and dropping on her knees implored the executioner to permit her to remain. She was the wife of the victim !

Of a gentle retiring nature, the baroness of Wartz had mingled but little in the haughty court of the emperor Albert ; and after she became a mother she withdrew yet more from its gaieties, though her youth and beauty, high rank, and amiable qualities had ever ensured her a distinguished place in its patrician circle. She was residing at the Castle of *Balm*, a little hamlet in the parish of Gunsperg in Argovia, unconscious of impending evil, when the emperor met his death ; and she first learnt the fatal news by seeing her castle

invested by armed troops, in search of her husband and brother. Her baby, an infant of twelve months old, asleep in its cradle at her foot, was murdered in her presence by the express orders of Agnes, queen of Hungary, Albert's daughter, as the child of a regicide; and she was commanded, under penalty of instant death, to declare where her husband had found a shelter. Her paroxysms of fright, astonishment, and grief answered for her ignorance of the dreadful catastrophe; and after leaving a strong escort in the castle, and planting another around it to prevent all possibility of his escape if there concealed, the officer sent on this expedition departed.

Gertrude of Wartz had ceased to be a mother, and her affections as a wife nestled yet more strongly in her heart: she had no link to bind her to life but that of wife, none to love but her husband. She deceived the vigilance of her guards, at the risk of her life made her way to the royal château, and, penetrating into the presence of the widowed empress Elizabeth and her daughter Agnes, threw herself at their feet imploring the life of her husband. Her prayer was sternly refused; she then begged a mitigation of his sufferings—that also was denied; to share his prison—each petition was fiercely rejected; and she was repulsed from the castle to wander around the dungeon which would so soon open to

deliver that husband to an ignominious and frightful death.

She was present during all the sickening details of his horrible sentence, supporting him through his agonies by the assurance of her unabated attachment, and belief in his innocence; and when the executioner had finished his fatal office, and one by one the silent multitude withdrew as night closed in, she crept under the wheel where he was left to die in lingering torments, the *coup de grace*, or final blow of mercy, by which the sufferings of the victim were usually finished when each limb was broken, having been expressly forbidden.

Morning dawned on the miserable pair—Wartz was in the prime of life, of noble athletic form, and though each member was doubly fractured, his vital energy remained. Three nights and three days, without food, without sleep, she watched “in the valley of the shadow of death,” suffering neither “the birds of the air to rest on him by day, nor the beasts of the field by night:” wiping from his dying brow the big drops of anguish that burst from every pore. Nature wrestled long with death; on the third evening he grew too faint to thank her for her love, and as the morning of the fourth day dawned, he died. Her earthly task was accomplished: she rose from her knees and directed her tottering steps to Klingenthal, whose prioress

was the baron's sister. How she got there she could not tell: she fainted at the portal, and was carried in as an object of charity, so emaciated by famine, so changed by woe, that the prioress for some time had no recollection of her person. Yet she lived—for grief, in despite of the wishes of the wretched, though it generally aims a sure blow, is seldom quick to kill.

The residence of this sweet victim to conjugal love did not transpire till the death of the empress Elizabeth, during which period she changed her abode to the convent of St. Marie Madelaine, or Steinen, at Great Basle, where she died—when is not known, but in the archives of Zurich is a letter of sale by which she disposed of the property arising to her from her marriage settlement; and, in the wording of this deed, the innocence of Wartz is tacitly admitted. It thus commences—

“We dame Gertrude, widow by legitimate marriage of the honourable Rodolph, in his lifetime baron of Wartz, nobleman of the bishoprick of Constance, declare that we have sold to our well-beloved Sisters in God, the abbess and nuns of the convent of Töss, of the order of St. Dominick, all the property arising from our paternal inheritance, to wit—the farm situate behind the village of Dätlikon, with the prairie and vineyard adjacent, for the price of 130 marks of good money, weighed in the scales of the city of Winter-

thur: the present letters have been given at Winterthur, the day of St. George, in the year 1313. Amongst the witnesses were Eberhart of Eppenstein, and other notable magistrates of Winterthur."

The widow of a regicide would not have been permitted thus to make respectful mention of him as the honourable baron of Wartz, when disposing publicly of land to a convent close to the scene of his execution. More than one thousand of the most illustrious families of Helvetia, with their friends and vassals, were extinguished in the frightful carnage that ensued; and a Swiss author remarks, "that this destruction and spoliation of the aristocracy of the land bore as fatal a blow to the power of the house of Austria (which it was intended to consolidate) as the victory of Morgarten."*

For more than a century after the recluses of Klingenthal removed their *Penates* to Little Basle, they held a high rank in the estimation of the country they had chosen for their retreat; and although in the primitive fervour of their incorporation, they never professed to practise such austerities as might sanction the hope of any fresh miracles to enlighten or instruct the Balois, they were believed to follow strictly the rules of their severe order; nor was there anything to

* La chronique d'Albert de Strasbourg, p. 114, publiée à Francfort en 1585, par Würstisen.

Con. Suisse, tome II, p. 273. Hist. des Suisses, tome I, p. 216.

draw attention to their conduct till about the year 1430, when their dissensions with the fathers of the Dominican monastery began to excite the warm displeasure of the monks, and attract public attention to both parties.

In the middle ages, attached to almost every religious house, was a sort of intermediate appointment between advocate, protector, and agent, usually bestowed, with a large salary or equivalent advantages, on some layman of great personal importance, sworn, in return, to defend the privileges and immunities of the establishment, as well as to receive the revenues of distant estates, repel aggressions, and watch generally over its interior interests and exterior arrangements. The possession of this important appointment, denominated *advocatus*, or advocate,* was a dignity often sought by nobles of the highest rank; and if the monastery were one of great importance, even royalty did not disdain its investiture, since it secured the support of the superior, and the many vassals belonging to the numerous fiefs with which piety or superstition had endowed it.

* On appelait l'évêque d'un couvent, un laïque qui originairement en soignait l'économie et les revenus, et qui ensuite devait le défendre soit devant les tribunaux, soit par les armes : un serment solennel l'attachait aux intérêts du monastère, dont il était le protecteur. Dans le moyen âge, la plupart des abbayes de la Suisse avaient pour avoués des comtes ou des barons, dans la famille desquels cette charge devint héréditaire.—*Sismondi*.

It appears that when the nuns of Klingenthal settled at Basle, this honourable and responsible office was either left in abeyance, or that, out of gratitude for the permission to erect their convent within the jurisdiction of the Dominican brothers already domiciled there, the prior had been tacitly allowed to enjoy it. "No title was more tempting to an ambitious chief, than that of Advocate to a convent. That specious name conveyed with it a kind of indefinite guardianship, and right of interference, which frequently ended in reversing the condition of the ecclesiastical sovereign and its vassal."* As belonging to the same order, they were likewise obliged to obey their male *confrères* on material points of discipline; and under these circumstances the monks found it quite natural that they should exercise unlimited control over the affairs of their cloistered sisters. At first their government was either less despotic, or the latter felt themselves too weak to resist it; for the harmony which ought to subsist between communities so closely connected, experienced no considerable diminution till a few years before this period, when the nuns, flanked by a long line of dignified relations, determined to resist this onerous supervision. The monks, soon aware of their intention, were equally resolved not to yield, and had their feminine antagonists been members of less illustrious families they would doubtless in

* Hallam, Chap. v, p. 341.

this, as in many other instances where they displayed their thirst of dominion, have succeeded. For some time both parties were polite, but active and vigilant; each secretly afraid of the power of the other, smothered their animosity, and made that sort of war which irritates without bringing anything to a conclusion. The nuns cautiously eluded inquiries, closed their ears to advice, and kept as much as possible their concerns, spiritual and temporal, from the prying curiosity of men whom they considered self-constituted and most obnoxious directors of their actions and fortune; whilst the monks, not behindhand in watchfulness or craft, availed themselves of the privileges of their position to subdue the pride and cramp the energies of these rebels to their imagined rights. The artful question, subtilely proposed by masculine intellect and shrewdness, was foreseen and parried by feminine acuteness and ingenuity. The monks hinted at the power of the church, and the sacredness of monastic discipline—the nuns talked of the puissance of their fathers, and brothers, and cousins, and made adroit allusions to their exemption from any bonds but those common to a religious profession.

This profitless contest of words might have been spun out much longer if the prioress—the Lady Anne of Thierstein,* who inherited all the spirit and address

* Anne of Thierstein, elected prioress in 1424, was a member of the primitive race settled at Farnsperg, "*das gross und*

which distinguished every individual of that noble family, weary of the very sight of her cowed persecutors, had not, by suddenly changing her tactics, brought this covert fight to a final close in 1431. She ordered the gates of the convent to be shut in the faces of these unwelcome visitors; and having by this desperate *coup d'état* freed herself at once from all unpleasant arguments on the subject, she proceeded

wohlbewahrt Schloss," which proudly looked down from its lofty eminence upon so many smiling valleys and cheerful hamlets, all owing allegiance to the lordly proprietor at a very distant epoch; for so early as 1180, this family, already illustrious, was divided into three houses, from two of which descended the lines of Guelf, Kybourg, and Habsburg. In 1154, the prince-bishop of Basle was a Thierstein, and about the same epoch Ludwig, abbot of Einsiedeln; but the list of *Tochteren Klosterfrauen*, is far longer than that of sons devoted to the seclusion of a monastic life, probably from the valorous spirit of the family, more willing to carve out fortune with the sword than seek it under a cowl. Two counts, Walraf, *zu Sempach erschlagen*, 1386, and Hans, *auch zu Sempach erschlagen*, both killed at Sempach, experienced the same fate as hundreds of the nobility during the long struggle between the house of Austria and the Swiss. Wolfhard married Ida of Habsburg 1179, and at a later period one of the female ancestors of Henry de Höwen, bishop of Constance, was a countess of Thierstein. There were also many marriages between them and the barons of Klingen, the counts of Toggenburgh, and other distinguished nobles. Schöpflin gives much information respecting the house of Thierstein.

to declare that, the affairs of the convent being grossly mismanaged, and the Dominicans themselves become absolutely insupportable from their brutality, tyranny, and ignorance, she, in the just exercise of her own inalienable rights, and in the names of the twenty-four honourable ladies composing the society of Klingenthal under her government, dissolved the union which had so long subsisted between them and the brother-preachers of the Dominican order, and had placed the monastery under the immediate direction and protection of its spiritual diocesan, the bishop of Constance, Henry of Höwen, a prelate of noble lineage and princely bearing.*

It is more than probable that the Dominican monks, imbued with the fierce spirit of their intolerant founder, and often men of coarse manners and humble extraction, whose learning rather than refinement was their passport to power, had rendered themselves far more distasteful to their patrician sisters, by domineering insolence and the uncourtly admonitions of plebeian reproof, than by any fault in the stewardship of their temporalities, which circumstances afterwards proved to be in a flourishing state; and when recovered from

* Little Basle properly belonged to the see of Constance, though the bishop of Basle was associated in the charter from his proximity. He does not appear to have taken any part in the dispute at its commencement, and a reluctant one when compelled by the pope's bull to interfere.

their amazement at the boldness and dexterity of their female adversaries, they loudly appealed against the injustice of this unpalatable rejection. But all in vain : the bishop of Constance, it may be, not unwilling to enjoy the advantages arising from the administration of such extensive possessions, and allied either by consanguinity or friendship with the high-born complainants, declared he "could not refuse the shelter of his episcopal crook to female lambs of his own flock, flying to him for pity, guidance, and protection." This decision terminated all further intercourse between the cloistered combatants. The discomfited monks withdrew from the hopeless contest, for a bishop was too important and sacred a personage in the fifteenth century to be thwarted by any class of men, much less a body of Dominican friars ; and the ladies of Klingenthal (so they were respectfully denominated) remained undisputed mistresses of their own domains, and, what they perhaps valued yet more, their own actions.

That this quarrel did them little injury in public estimation* is evidenced from the respected name of

* The Dominicans were not, in fact, generally popular, especially in the first two centuries of their establishment : their reprimands were stern, and their carriage haughty and overbearing. It would seem, indeed, as if the fierce, untamed spirit of their chief, the founder of the Inquisition, the destroyer of the Albigenses, were infused through the veins, and throbbed in the

the learned Peter Icelin, a monk of the order of Augustins at Basle, appearing in the great chronicle

pulses of all his disciples ; for they have frequently been on unfriendly terms with each other, not merely upon comparatively minor points, but those essential dogmas of the Church, on which it might have been presumed they, at least, would be unanimous. At that grand epoch when the Christian world, then *undivided* by the distinctions of Protestant and Romanist, was agitated by the respective claims of Urban VI. and Clement VII., to the papal throne in 1378, Catherine of Sienna, afterwards canonized by Pius II., a nun of the order of St. Dominic, who played a more conspicuous part in life's drama than her sex is usually allowed to perform, wrote very largely and warmly in favour of Urban VI. ; whilst Vincent Ferrier, a monk of the same rule at Bologna, also a canonized saint, and not less celebrated than his female antagonist for miracles and revelations, took an equally active interest in the success of Clement VII. This saint, exquisitely beautiful as she appears, painted by a most gifted pencil, is by no means popular at Avignon. Her extacies were not to the advantage of that city. The cardinals despised them :—and Gregory XI., induced by her to quit France, is said, when dying, to have taken the wafer in his hands, and “conjured those present never to allow themselves to be beguiled by the pretended revelations to which he had given credence.”

Les cardineaux dédaignaient de parler à cette inspirée ; ils la traitaient même avec mépris. Gregoire, au contraire, pensait différemment. Catherine lui faisait sentir la nécessité de la translation du saint-siège à Rome, et appuyait ses raisons sur des révélations célestes. * * * * *

Prenant entre ses mains le corps de Jésus-Christ avant d'expirer, il conjura les assistans de ne jamais se laisser con-

as their father confessor six years after its termination ; and the internal prosperity of the institution may be divined from the existence of a deed, executed about the same period (1437), by which John of Eschenberg, as steward of the convent of Klingenthal, in Minder-Basle, Elizabeth Knüwlerin, prioress, and Ulmann Imhof, of Great Basle, lent the sum of 1800 florins of the Rhine at five per cent interest, to the Count Henry of Werdenberg-Sargans, to enable him to redeem his lordship of Sargans, and pay some pressing debts. The cantons of Glaris and Schwytz were his bail for this loan, which he doubtless owed to the private friendship of some of the nuns, for his affairs were then in a state of great embarrassment, and there is no record that he ever paid it, except by an offer of his sword, when his hand, enfeebled by age and sorrow, could hardly grasp the weapon he was so willing to exert in defence of the rights of the convent.

It appears from this document that the Lady Anne of Thierstein who "could not bear the sight of a Pfaffenplatte," (shaved crown of a friar's head) had gone to join her kindred dust, but she left her mantle behind her ; and ere the expiration of half-a-century it was worn with pre-eminent wisdom and effect by two of her successors in another skirmish, or, more properly

duire par les révélations prétendues auxquelles il avait ajouté foi.—*Avignon. Son Histoire, ses Papes et ses Monumens, par J. B. M. Joudon*, pp. 173 and 176.

speaking, pitched battle ; not simply as before, with their ancient foes the Dominican monks of Basle, but the whole of that grave and learned body wheresoever placed.

The Council of Basle, convoked for the reformation of the church in the same year that the sisters of Klingenthal threw off the yoke of the brother-preachers (it may be remarked *en passant*, that the Lady Anne displayed considerable generalship in selecting *that epoch* for the period of her revolt, as her brother, Count John of Thierstein, invested with the important office of protector of the council, then resided in the city), resumed its sittings soon after these events ; it was then waning to a close ; and the plague, which burst out almost instantaneously, doubtless accelerated its extinction. This was the second time that Basle had experienced that most terrific of all the visitations of Providence ; and although it came in milder guise than in 1348, still the march of death was frightfully rapid and fatal. A hundred persons usually perished every day. Many of the abbots, prelates, and doctors, who had assembled to attend the council, died, and were interred in their habits, so little could the ceremonials of religion be respected at such a moment. The cemeteries of religious houses were principally selected as the last home of these illustrious pilgrims, doomed never more to return to the one they had quitted. Klingenthal, as well as the Carthusian mo-

nastery at Little Basle, received many of the most distinguished victims; and soon after this grievous mortality, the famous "Dance of Death," so long incorrectly attributed to Hans Holbein, was painted on the walls of a long corridor belonging to the monastery of the Dominicans at Basle. It was executed by the orders of the surviving fathers of the council, in memorial of so awful an event. The name of the artist is unknown, but his manner indicated that he belonged to the Flemish school, and must have been distinguished in his age. The costumes were rigidly preserved, and nearly all the figures were portraits of the reigning pontiff, and the other great personages who figured on that occasion. The head of the pope is that of Felix V., elected in the place of Eugenius IV.; the emperor presented a striking likeness of Sigismund, and the king was designed for Albert II., then king of the Romans.*

* The "Dance of Death" was neither original nor peculiar to the Dominicans of Great Basle. This extraordinary representation of the vanity of human things, was known nearly a century before, under the title of *Dances Macabées*, and were favourite adornments of monastic edifices, at Berne and elsewhere. A small alms-box was usually placed at the beginning of the series, and, Oliver Maillard, a famous preacher of the 16th century, said on this subject: "The souls in purgatory hear the sound of the money you give for them, and, as it falls with a click, click, click, into the box they begin to laugh ha, ha, ha, hi, hi, hi." Another Dance of Death equally good, though less known, had

But the sufferings of the inhabitants of Basle on this occasion were light in comparison to the horrors

previously adorned the Chartreuse at Little Basle, which might be seen after the corridor of the Dominican monastery at Great Basle was pulled down. And the remains of a still older in one of the cloisters of Klingenthal, the existence of which had been surmised, was discovered only in 1846 or 1847, when, after being for upwards of two centuries used as a wood magazine, it was cleared out, and thus corroborated the tradition that the splendid Anne of Thierstein was the original of the abbess, in the Dominical habit led by death in all subsequent paintings. The church of the Dominicans is now appropriated to the worship of the French Protestants, and the Rev. Philip Bridel, pastor of Montreux, in the Canton de Vaud, who resided there ten years as minister, published in the "*Conservateur Suisse*," forty years ago, the information from which this notice is drawn. The cheerful little plot of green turf, bordered with fragrant lime-trees, in front of the old church, was the cemetery of the friars; and the celebrated "Dance of Death," painted on the walls of the corridors, then surrounded it. Holbein was not born till 1489, at least fifty years after its execution, nor did he even retouch it. John Hugh Klauber, one of his pupils, repaired some damages incident to age and constant exposure to the multitude in 1568. Klauber was a native of Basle, and he subsequently added his own portrait with that of Oecolampadius preaching, and some other distinguished persons of his time. The Balois consider themselves unjustly accused of Vandalism for destroying this corridor. It appears in fact to have been in a most dilapidated condition, the heaped-up burial ground was becoming injurious to the health of the adjacent inhabitants, and a crowded population required some space for fresh air and exercise. ["Pour

attending the general outbreak of the plague in 1348, when it was calculated that a third of mankind had been destroyed. From the gate of Escheim to the gate of the Rhine, three married couples only survived, and upwards of twelve thousand thus passed away from life to death in Basle, after a few short hours of agony. The details of its progress and power in Italy have been admirably detailed by a contemporary historian; and subsequently so immortalized by the pen of Bulwer, that in perusing the pages of Rienzi, the mind, entranced in the beauty of the language, almost loses sight of the woes, and wickedness, and horrors of the subject.

The archives of Basle contain no adequate accounts of this period, but in the old editions of Würstisen's chronicle is a vignette, which conveys to the intellect,

“Pour revenir à la danse de Bale, elle fut exécutée par l'ordre du concile assemblé dans cette ville en 1435, à l'occasion d'une peste qui regnoit alors. Elle emporta même quelques pères du concile, qui furent enterrés dans la Chartreuse du petit-Bale. Pres de là, se voient encore aujourd'hui les restes d'une autre Danse des Morts, aussi bonne et cependant bien moins connue que celle dont nous parlons.”—*The Rev. Philip Bridel. Con. Suisse*, Vol. vi, p. 354.

“Nous voudrions enfin attirer encore l'attention de nos lecteurs sur les restes, il est vrai peu considérables, de la Danse des Morts du couvent de Klingenthal, probablement la plus ancienne de toutes celles qui existent. Ce lieu, autrefois un magasin de sel, sert maintenant de bûcher.”—*Un Jour à Bale*, p. 105.

through the medium of the sight, whatever he left unsaid. A grim and ghastly figure of Death, armed with his scythe and hour-glass, heads the brief details he has given of these two most fearful incidents in the history of Basle; and a third scarcely less pregnant with terror and desolation which rapidly followed the first. In 1356, ten consecutive earthquakes nearly buried Basle in its own ruins. The monastery of St. Alban, after being shaken till every stone became dislocated by repeated concussions, was eventually destroyed by a raging fire, which, bursting out among the heaps of rubbish, extended to the opposite gate of St. John, consuming in its progress all that could feed its devouring flames. The city walls were thrown down in several places; forty-eight mansions belonging to the chief nobility of the city and canton fell that fatal night. No church or tower remained entire; and among many meaner victims, a countess of Thierstein, whom death surprised with her young baby in her arms, was brought from the fortress of her lord for interment at Klingenthal amongst his kindred dust.*

* It was in mournful commemoration of these successive calamities that several analogous medals were struck at Basle, intended for funereal presents. One bore a death's head, from which sprang a wheat-ear, an emblem of the resurrection, with this device in Latin, To-day, my turn; to-morrow, yours, on the reverse. Another contained a death's head and cross-bones, intermixed with roses, blooming and faded, surrounded by a motto arising from a play of words in German—*Heut Rodt,*

Klingenthal surmounted these successive calamities, and became in a few years once more the asylum of another of those gentle, loving spirits, like the baroness of Wartz, unfitted for the turmoils and cares of this world; whose broken heart there sought and found a resting-place in the grave. The beautiful Louisa Ritsch,* sole heiress of a gentleman of ancient family in Freyburg, was a voluntary sacrifice, offered up in

Morgen Todt: "To-day, blooming; to-morrow, withered;" literally, to-day, red; to-morrow, dead. A broken hourglass with the sand scattered, and a pillar thrown down, were also designed to convey to the living the uncertain tenure of their days.—*Con. Suisse*, Vol. ix, p. 79.

Convinced of the immortality of the soul, the great Haller chose for his emblem a chrysalis changing into a butterfly, with this device in Latin, "All has not perished;" and this doubtless gave birth to the many affecting memorials erected over the graves of children, in the open quadrangular plot of ground, surrounded by the cloisters at Basle, appropriated to their sepulchre. Butterflies of every size and hue, rising from slender spiral rods of iron, hidden by tall rose trees and evergreens, impress on the mind a beautiful thought—the idea that we behold the spirit of these little blessed ones, actually ascending to heaven before our eyes.—*Ibid.* Vol iv, p. 400.

* Louise Ritsch, qui demeurait au château de Viviers, était fille d'un riche bourgeois de Fribourg. Sa mère avait épousé en secondes noces, Rodolphe de Ringoltingen, bourgeois de Berne très considéré, et avait promis au fils de celui-ci sa fille en mariage, tandis que la même promesse avait été fait à Henri Felga.—*His. du Canton de Fribourg*, par Dr. Berchtold, Vol i, p. 275.—*Stettler*.

the spring of her charms, at the altar of her native country. A short period before her father's death, an event sudden and unexpected, he had promised her hand to Heinzmann Felga, burgomaster of Freyburg. No contract had been, however, drawn up before his dissolution; and Louisa soon afterwards removed with her mother to Berne, without this engagement having received the confirmation of the law. Louisa's sorrow, and the respect due to her father's memory, were doubtless the reasons of this apparent neglect, for it was understood at some period they were to be regularly affianced, and Heinzmann occasionally came to Berne to see his future bride.

The manners of the age were little chivalrous; and the burgomaster, a man between thirty and forty, and occupying a station requiring in such perturbed times much exertion both of mind and body, suffered twelve months to elapse without formally demanding from her mother the fulfilment of her late husband's promise. In that interval the widow of his friend had become the wife of Rudolph of Ringoltingen, lord of Landshut, one of the most esteemed counsellors of Berne, and also its avoyer. He was an active, ambitious, designing man, possessed of a beautiful patrimonial estate in the canton, and of many houses in the city. He kept an expensive establishment, and to support his influence in Berne lived in great splendour. He was a widower with many children; and alike

charmed by the loveliness of his daughter-in-law, and desirous of transferring her wealth to his own family, he resolved to unite her to his eldest son the chevalier Thuring, of Ringoltingen, a fine young man only three years her senior.

The project met with the most determined opposition from the burgomaster of Freyburg, too late awakened from his false security or indifference; and he proved by the sudden violence of his grief and resentment,

That, what we have we prize not to the worth,
Whiles we enjoy it; but being lack'd and lost,
Why, then we rack the value; then we find
The virtue, that possession would not shew us
Whiles it was ours.

Heinzmann Felga was also a man of fortune and consequence, and could count on the warm support of his brother, who held at Freyburg the same important function that Ringoltingen filled at Berne. The Bernois lord and his son protested that they would not yield their legitimate pretensions to a mere verbal promise, unsanctioned during twelve months by her mother, whose power was now thrown into their scale; and the violence and hatred of the rival candidates and their respective parties became so intense, that the two governments, ever fearful of private collisions, which commonly terminated in public disasters, had great difficulty in obtaining a promise that they would not

begin open hostilities till the opinion of the great council of the confederation, which they had consulted on this knotty point, should be obtained.

The wishes of Louisa herself were probably wholly unconsulted, and were certainly never made known ; but it is believed that her young heart clung to her father's friend, though "she never told her love." Perhaps she thought he had been cold ; perhaps the restraint in which young females were then kept, and the modesty of a delicate mind, withheld her from proclaiming her attachment : but so it was, while she offered no sanction to the claims of her first lover, remaining to herself—

———— her own affection's counsellor,
———— so secret and so close,
So far from sounding and discovery,
As is the bud, bit with an envious worm.
Ere he can spread his sweet leaves to the air,
Or dedicate his beauty to the sun—

nothing could win her to give the smallest encouragement to the young chevalier Thuring of Ringoltingen, though his suit was ardently pressed by her mother.

Some months had thus passed ; the decision of the Grand Council was daily expected, with the most ardent anxiety at Berne and Freyburg, when it was discovered that the object of this bitter feud, taking advantage of the liberty allowed her in her step-father's house, had fled from his mansion in the night

disguised as a peasant; and a letter from Basle soon afterwards announced that she had determined by taking the veil to terminate a dispute which might occasion sorrowful consequences to her country.

It does not appear that Heinzmann Felga made any efforts to change Louisa's decision; perhaps he might have judged them unavailing; perhaps he resolved to follow the noble example of patriotism she had presented, and offer up the sacrifice of his affections at the same holy shrine. He was past that age when youthful enthusiasm prompts to entire self-immolation. He withdrew into no monastery; stript neither his head nor his feet of decent covering; but with the courage of a strong mind remained on the busy stage of life fulfilling its many duties with honour to himself and advantage to his country. Yet was there a link between him and the veiled nun—he never married; and the warmth with which he shortly afterwards espoused the interests of Louisa's heir evinced how keenly he had felt this blow to his domestic peace.

The relations of this lovely and amiable young creature, thus lost to a world she was so calculated to adorn, were probably well satisfied with the change in her destination. The selfish mother who had, by a second union, delegated her parental power over her daughter to a new husband, in whose eyes she stood but a stranger, whose interests (if he so desired it) he could bend to his own, was become by that unhappy

child's opposition to his sordid plans rather an enemy than a friend ; and Ringoltingen, who doubtless cared little for the method by which he arrived at Louisa's wealth so that it found a way into his coffers, lost no time in journeying to Basle to purchase of the convent, to which it would devolve if she took the veil, whatever it might be in Louisa's power to sell. His views were met half way by the prioress. Louisa had not yet professed, and to make her "election sure," a bargain was speedily entered into between them, by which considerable estates near Freyburg were relinquished to him for seventeen hundred florins ; and Louisa, before she had taken the vows, which thenceforth shut her out from all the ties of nature and of heritage, was further influenced to make over to her mother other property on similar terms. Though land at that distant era bore little more than a fifth of its relative value now, this was so paltry a consideration that her cousin the chevalier Rudolph of Vuippens complained loudly against the injustice of this procedure, and offered himself three thousand golden florins for the property thus surreptitiously, or at least unscrupulously obtained. He declared, moreover, that as Louisa's next heir he had a right to the first refusal of her landed estate ; and Ringoltingen being determined to maintain the validity of his purchase, the war which Louisa had been so anxious to avert by her withdrawal from the world and its opening charms, was all

but lighted by the mercenary conduct of her step-father.

All Louisa's relations, the friends of the chevalier Rudolph of Vuippens, and her disappointed lover Heinzmann Felga, with his allies, made common cause, and ranged themselves manfully against the Bailli of Berne; and the contest would doubtless have been soon settled by force of arms, if private interests had not been lost in a great public calamity, especially involving the house of Felga.

Fribourg formed a part of the royal appanage of the archduke Albert of Austria, called the Prodigal, and from every historic evidence the citizens seem to have been desirous of satisfying both his just and unjust requisitions to the utmost of their ability. In January 1449, the town had most splendidly entertained Ellinor of Scotland, daughter of James I. on her way to be married to duke Sigismund of Austria, afterwards so conspicuous in the Nuns' War. She spent six days in the government house, and that "beautiful, amiable, and talented princess preserved through all her life an affectionate and grateful remembrance of the honours, presents, and fêtes she there received."* Soon after this testimonial of loyalty to

* That portion of the Chronicle of Peter Fryo which contains the reception of this Scotch princess, and a detailed account of the luckless ball—imprisonment of the burghers, &c. &c., exceedingly interesting, as a curious graphic picture of the manners and style of the period, has been preserved in the 9th vol. of the "Conservateur Suisse," p. 317.

the house of Austria, Albert sent to announce a visit on his side ; and his chamberlain, in communicating the coming honour, intimated that the citizens would do well to make the gifts of custom offered on these occasions such as might be worth the acceptance of royalty. The senate and burghers took the hint, and presented more than they had ever previously done. Amongst other things a costly silver cup filled with golden florins. They were therefore much surprised and chagrined at the duke's expressing himself greatly dissatisfied with the civic presents, and displaying much haughty ill-humour towards the bearers. The next morning, however, apparently recovered from his anger, he invited them and their ladies to a ball the day afterwards ; and as he came without any, but mere personal, baggage, the principal burghers were politely requested to lend the plate and linen necessary for the supper that was to follow. They were all eager to comply with this gracious request, and many an old family relic was drawn from its secure nook to do honour to their own pedigree and the duke's entertainment. There was in short a goodly display of *argenterie* to set off the ducal viands, and almost each guest saw with secret pride and pleasure the household gods of his race figure in glittering beauty on the royal banqueting table. The duke was affable, danced condescendingly with several of the burghers' wives and daughters, and bowed and chatted benignantly to their

husbands, fathers, and brothers. The ball went off admirably, and the citizen party returned to their homes delighted at the courtly attentions they had received, and that the storm at first expected had blown so happily over. Early the ensuing morning, ere they had hardly shaken off the pleasing reminiscences of the evening, they learnt that the duke, already prepared for his return into Germany, wished to see the advocate William Felga, his brother Heinzmann the burgomaster, the chevalier Rudolph of Vuipens, and the rest of the members of the council of regency before his departure. Believing it was intended to return safely into their hands the valuable articles of silver lent by so many families to grace his fête, they went, accompanied by several servants carrying great bags to receive it, together with the duke's thanks for the loan.

On being ushered into the duke's presence they were thunder-struck by a thousand reproaches for the meanness and want of loyalty evinced in their pitiful presents and reception. The Felgas with all the members of the council were then committed to prison under the guard of his own German escort, and informed that until certain sums necessary to him were paid they should there remain.* The whole town was suddenly

* Ils se rendirent tous sans méfiance à l'appel, comptant même retirer leur vaisselle d'argent, qui était restée à la halle depuis le souper. Mais à leur grand étonnement, on leur fit jurer qu'ils

converted into a scene of mourning; it was intensely cold, and to hasten their deliberations, the duke allowed no fuel and very little food. The two brothers, William and Heinzmann Felga, with the chevalier Rudolph of Vuippens and three others, were deputed by the rest of the prisoners and their terrified townsmen to negotiate with the duke's chamberlain; and, besides the money originally demanded, finally paid a heavy fine each, proportionable to their respective rank in society. William Felga was rated at one thousand florins of gold! These enormous sums having been, in part, paid; the duke quitted Fribourg, declaring he would *never* more have the least *personal* intercourse of any kind with so despicable a people, taking away with him all the silver cups, spoons, saltcellars, dishes, candlesticks, and other articles furnished for his feast. Three weeks elapsed before the whole sum stipulated could be mustered, and it was in the "doleful tower," yet called *la mauvaise tour* from being the depositary of the rack not abolished in Fribourg till 1830, where the captives remained till every florin was duly paid over to the duke's commissioners, that the most ancient rhymes known in the Swiss Romande were composed by Nicod Bugniet there confined with twenty-six of his

ne sortiraient point sans nouvel ordre. Au bout d'une demi-heure, Hallwyl les fit conduire sous escorte à la maison-de-ville, où ils furent mis aux arrêts.—*Hist. du Canton de Fribourg, par Dr. Berchtold*," Vol. I, 318.

co-citizens. It is a barbarous lament, in still more barbarous terms, deploring their unjust detention, treatment, and sufferings.

Ayez pidie deis pourouz presonniers
 Qui nuyt et jor ont servi léalement.
 Le noble prince a esté mal informié;
 Or prions Dieu, lequel est puissant,
 Que de la tor nos traise brièvement,
 La tor est froide, a peu d'esbattement.
 Le noble prince nos en traise brièvement.
 Pour luy servir tousjour alleigrement.
 Les présonniers qui ont fait cette chanson
 Priont Dieu que lour fassez raison
 Devant lour prince, seigneur de grand renom;
 Ayez pidié deis pourouz presonniers
 Qui nuyt et jor ont servi léalement.*

It would be foreign to the purpose of these brief sketches to enter on the many calamities which at this period distracted Switzerland: it is sufficient to say, the Ringoltingens had the good luck to survive them all. Louisa's stepfather died about ten years after she took the veil: his pride and self-importance were perpetuated by a will, in which he commanded the hereditary preservation of six cups "given by my

* Preserved by Berchtold, Vol. I, p. 319

, "Voyez Ruchat, Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique du Pays de Vaud," p. 22. "Chronicle of Fruyo," quoted by Mr. de Zurlauben in his "Pictures of Switzerland," Vol. vi. "Conservateur Suisse," Vol. ix, p. 320.

noble lord and prince, the dauphin," after the peace of 1445; and it appears from a notice issued by his son after his death, that he was not only successful (as the shrewd and designing generally are when determined to carry a favourite point in opposition to men cast in a more generous mould) in his struggle with the chevalier of Vuippens, but had contrived to possess himself, by hook or by crook, of more than the half of Louisa's lands and money. The residue, in accordance with the usage of the times, became the property of the convent of Klingenthal. The young aspirant to the hand of the gentle nun of Klingenthal had a very different destiny from that which her mother's union chalked out for her. Like his father he became *avoyer* of Berne, and had a busy, bustling, prosperous career. He was united to a lady of ancient family, by whom he had three daughters co-heiresses: two married into patrician houses; the youngest had the inheritance of a cloister, perhaps to bring about the brilliant connexions of her sisters. He died in 1483 extremely rich, and laden with seignorial honours, part of which arose from the possessions of his stepmother and her immolated daughter. His name died with him, as did that of the orphan Louisa Ritsch.

There is something exceedingly painful in turning from the portrait of a pure, self-denying, uncomplaining spirit, voluntarily relinquishing, under the impulse

of a noble motive, the varied pleasures attendant on beauty, youth, affluence, and innocence, to gaze on the dark picture which the archives of Basle have next transmitted to posterity, as a warning proof how often the human heart is influenced by opposite emotions—how little the same system is applicable to every mind—how utterly impossible it is to subdue all opinions, acts, and wishes to one common rule. The cold, gloomy cell—the dank corridors—the vigils—the fastings—the perfect obedience—the total renunciation of all that brightens or blesses the path of life, which may be embraced with holy enthusiasm by one taught to regard such sacrifices as acceptable holocausts to an Almighty Being, every one of whose works nevertheless speaks mercy, are capable of rousing even to the madness of despair a spirit cast in a feebler or different mould. The very existence of so many different orders of monastic institutions is in itself a palpable demonstration of the error or vanity of those who would seek to control the mind to one code of laws, feeling, action, or belief.

A nun trying to escape from a destiny so revolting, that nothing but a deep sense of religion, teaching that this world is but a passage to another, or bitter remorse for past guilt, seeking to lull its pangs in the painful exercises of the body, can enable the prisoner to sustain its many and cruel trials, is, alas! it may be feared, an incident more common to human nature

than the heroic sacrifice, born of a noble cause, which immortalised Louisa Ritsch.

In 1466 during Lent, and on the day in Passion Week when the principal spring rents due to the convent were usually paid to the abbess or her steward, a fire was discovered in one of the cloisters, which soon communicating to the rest of the building threatened its complete destruction. The dormitories or sleeping apartments of the nuns, a great part of the furniture, and many presses (a species of wardrobe which usually lines the passages of a monastery) filled with linen, plate, jewels, and other costly effects, were consumed ere the conflagration, which broke out in the night, could be subdued; and the loss was estimated at upwards of ten thousand German florins, equivalent to at least ten thousand pounds of money at the present time. The author of this terrible deed proved to be a miserable nun whose impatience of a long and hopeless confinement had prompted her to this desperate resolution, in the hope that she might escape from her hated prison during the confusion which such a frightful event must create. The aversion she had conceived for a monastic life was unquestionably well known to the superior, as in the midst of all her own hurry and alarm she had sufficient presence of mind to take the precaution of ordering that the wretched creature should be watched; and she was soon detected attempting to pass the great portals, necessarily opened wide

to admit of assistance from without. She was arrested, and placed till the fire was subdued under a guard in the church, which was on the opposite side of the quadrangle; and any doubt that might have existed of her guilt was removed by her frantic cries and lamentations at the defeat of her hopes.

A vaulted cell underground, with bread and water for life, was the punishment awarded to this victim of a false system. Her name never transpired, nor the period when death came to terminate her sufferings; but she was acknowledged to be of noble lineage, which possibly prevented her from expiating her crime by a severer sentence, if indeed walling up alive, the usual doom which awaited a recreant nun, may be so considered.

Würstisen, in recording this dreadful circumstance, concludes his historical notice with these brief words, "and for this offence she was condemned to end her days in a dungeon." *End her days in a dungeon!* What a world of woe may be compressed into six little words!*

* 1466. Um Zintag zu Nacht in der Charwochen gieng im Kloster Clingenthal ein schädlich Feuer auf, welches das fürnehmste Dormitorium oder Schlafhaus mit allem Hausrath, Kleidern und Kleinoden auf 10,000 Gulden geschätzt, verschlucket. Diese Brunst hat eine Klosterfrau vom Adel, so ungern im orden gewesen, angerichtet, musste deshalb *ihr Leben im Kercker enden.*—*Würstisen*, p. 457.

The vicissitudes which alter not only the outward position of man, but the interior changes effected in his heart, or views, or principles, by a thousand unexplained causes, are brought with striking contrast to the mind of the historian; whose eye, often passing over the annals of long years in a single day, sees in that short space the popular hero, bending and bowing with courteous meekness while seeking for power, transformed by its possession into the crowned despot—the merciful monarch who grieved that his hand was forced to sign a criminal's just doom, degenerate into a bloodthirsty monster—the modest maiden, blushing as she hung on her proud bridegroom's arm, quit his sacred home, and the pledges of their honourable union, for the precarious shelter of a profligate's lawless protection—the harsh, who had made all around them fear, become kind—and the strong sink into imbecility and weakness.

Long years rolled away; the convent, embrowned by the sober tints of time, had assumed that characteristic solemnity which age and hallowed associations ever confer on religious edifices. The frenzied attempt of the nun to escape from its confinement, and the stern sentence passed on her, were guarantees for the rigid observance of all those monastic severities understood to be practised within its walls. And yet, at first in tones so low that the whisperer seemed afraid of the sound of his own voice, it was insinuated rather

than said—that the inmates of Klingenthal had lost their charter for sanctity. Suspicion, once awake, roused herself to vigilance; the doubt, once hinted, grew into certainty; the tale, timidly breathed forth in the closed chamber, was published ere long on the house-top; and two centuries after the baron of Klingenthal had laid with solemn pomp and circumstance the foundation-stone of this holy building, it was pronounced to be—holy no more.

The events of history would have been recorded to little purpose if destined merely to amuse the idle, or chronicle a fact; and as the coming shadow announces the approach of its object, so the keen observer of men and things is often prepared by the past for the strange revolution which makes the wonder of the present. For several years after they shook off their Dominican brethren, there was scarcely a perceptible change in the manners and habits of the ladies of Klingenthal; nor did they lose ground by that separation in the opinion of the public generally. The reign of the monks was understood to be harsh; and it can never be prudent that a masculine hand should rule with unlimited authority over a community of females. Experience has proved that individual man, in his highest state of moral and intellectual perfection, is not to be trusted with absolute dominion; and that for power there is but one safe repository—the responsible administration of recognised laws. Yet it is obvious

that some fixed order must be observed in all chartered establishments, or they are liable to degenerate into licence and misrule !* Had the Bishop of Basle been

* The religious institutions of Switzerland were generally exceedingly rich from the gifts and endowments of the many noble families whose daughters took the veil ; and this may have been the cause of that extraordinary relaxation of discipline so continually registered by all the contemporary historians of the Middle Ages. At Wettingen, the abbot John Müller, conjured the confederation for the love of Christ to come to his aid, that he might be enabled to save not merely the property but the souls of those under his jurisdiction. Appointed governor of many female communities (the Cistercian order alone had sixteen convents in Switzerland) the feeble pastor of these turbulent flocks avowed his utter inability to govern them. "I hate these nuns," said he ; "and I dare not repeat the reports of which they are the object. Why are they not sober and chaste ? But no ; they have selected me for their guide, only because they know I am a simple man easily deceived."

"A Wettingen, l'abbé Jean Müller conjurait, pour l'amour de Christ, les confédérés de venir à son aide, afin qu'il pût sauver non les biens seulement, mais les âmes de ses subordonnés. Gouverneur de nombreux couvens de femmes (il en existait seize en Suisse de l'ordre des Citeaux), le faible pasteur avouait 'l'impuissance où il était de les régir. Je hais ces nonnes,' disait-il, 'et je n'ose rapporter les bruits dont elles sont les objets. Que ne sont elles chastes et honnêtes ! Mais elles ne m'ont voulu pour conducteur, que parcequ'elles savent que je suis simple et facile à tromper.' "—*Witz.*

"La Maigrange, couvent de Bernardines. En 1560 et 1562, on admonéta sévèrement les nonnes qui allaient faire des courses à

appointed to watch over the convent, it is highly probable that the nuns would never have deviated widely from the line of their religious conversation ; but the distant sway of the bishop of Constance, Henry of Höwen, who died at upwards of ninety, thus nominally governing Klingenthal till within eighteen years of his death (a man of pleasure all his life, though from his age, riches, and great benevolence, of much weight in the country), naturally disposed to be indulgent to high-born women, cut off from the common blessings enjoyed by the meanest of their sex—the proud sense of superiority, spiritual and temporal—the possession of unbounded liberty—great affluence, and that exceeding contempt for the plebeian inhabitants of great cities, which pre-eminently marked the conduct of the nobility at that moment, all conspired to render them oblivious

Hauterive. Alta Ripa, Hauterive, ancienne et célèbre abbaye de l'ordre de Cîteaux, sur la rive droite de la Sarine."—*Dic. Hist. du Canton de Fribourg*, Vol. I, p. 362 ; Vol. II, p. 66.

"A une demi-lieue de Marsens, dans une vallée solitaire au pied du Gibloux, sont les vestiges de l'abbaye d'Humilimont, de l'ordre des Prémontrés. Fondée en 1136 par Anselme, Gui et Borcard, seigneurs d'Everdes. Elle fut supprimée en 1579, et l'année suivante tous ses biens quelconques furent remis au collège des Jésuites à Fribourg."—*Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 114.

"Les aventures de ces joyeux cénobites ont inspiré à nos pères des couplets malins qu'on chante encore aujourd'hui."—*Course dans la Gruyère*, p. 40.

of the stern ordinances of their founder, and the received opinions of society at large.

By one of those singular mysteries in the human heart inexplicable to reason, the nuns seemed to grow strangely more lenient to themselves after they had condemned their helpless sister to so fearful a doom, for seeking to escape from the thralldom of her vows, unless indeed the remembrance of the crime into which her detestation of a cloisteral life led her, determined them to abate its rigours in their own instance. They first ceased to chaunt their matin and vesper services, and this relaxation from their ancient discipline was gradually followed by many others yet more striking ; till at length the sober citizens of Basle were astounded by the open and ostentatious display of their luxury, worldliness, and disregard of the established decorums of a religious calling. The large, heavy, dismal, rumbling vehicle, in which the prioress was wont at Easter, and on other high-days and holidays, to move with slow solemn pace from one church or chapel to another, to pay her annual tribute of worship to some particular saint, with two or three subdued-looking sisters, like herself veiled and muffled from head to foot, now rolled briskly through the streets seemingly bent on a very different errand. Their spacious garden, stretching to a considerable extent along the left bank of the Rhine, where each had, in former days, been thankful to cultivate as her sole amusement a little narrow plot,

scarcely larger than that sole inheritance which Earth bestows on all her children at their birth, no longer sufficing for air and exercise, they made frequent visits to their conventual lands in the adjacent country. Their repasts in the refectory, if not equal to those served up to the noble ladies of the convent of St. Hildgarde at Zurick,* one of whose dainty abbesses was said to have loved so much the roe of the delicate lotte, that after having extinguished the breed in her own lake she was forced to send to Constance and Zug for supplies of this favourite fish; or to the luxurious feasts of the Benedictine monks in Lombardy, whose table so amazed Martin Luther, fresh from German *Sauerkraut*, and black barley bread, that he deemed it his duty to warn them of his intention, on reaching Rome, to

* "The noble old lady is so dainty, and loves so much the roe of eels," (lotte is a large species of eel,) says a citizen of Zurick, writing to a friend, "that to pamper her delicate appetite, she will have a dish at her table every day; and our lake not sufficing, she is often obliged to send to Constance and Zug, which, with the like expenses, renders her so poor she is continually obliged to borrow money of the town council, who by this means have acquired many of the valuable privileges granted to her community by King Louis, the royal founder. Thus we owe much of our liberty to the eel roes eaten by our noble abbess."—*Quoted by Egide Tschudi.*

One of these privileges was the right of coinage, and legal jurisdiction of the city. Several coins of this abbey are extant, with the effigy of the abbess—the head of a veiled female.

report their scandalous gluttony and extravagance to the pope (for which the good man was within an inch of losing his life, so little did they relish his sincerity or appreciate his concern for their souls); still they were most *recherché* and abundant, as the loads of fish and fowl, and game and legs of mutton, and buttocks of beef, seen daily entering the side door leading to the ample kitchen amply testified.*

Then their dress—alas! alas! that even the history of a convent should add its testimony to this besetting sin of womankind! The thick white woollen tunics of the Dominican order, with heavy black mantles and

* *Histoire de la Réformation du Seizième Siecle*, par J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. The poet Gaspard Bruschi, who lived some time at Basle with the famous printer Oporin, whose want of liberality he records in lamentable terms, relates that having been appointed to visit different convents in Switzerland, for the purpose of collecting some historical information, he was every where well received and well entertained; but had especial reason to laud the abbess of the Dominicans of Cätz in the Grisons, who gave him a great supper, followed by a ball, which she opened with him in a lively dance; and at his departure this obliging hospitable *religieuse*, amongst other presents, bestowed an embroidered handkerchief, and a couple of the horns of the *bouquetin* or wild goat.

"Perhaps the heedless poet was too fond of recounting the favours he received, or commented too caustically upon them, for he experienced the hapless fate of assassination in 1559. He published '*Histoire des Monastères d'Allemagne*,' &c., M. l'Abbé Ladocat."—*Conservateur Suisse*, Vol. iv, p. 415.

coarse linen, were replaced by habiliments made in the same form, but of the finest materials. A narrow braid of glossy hair peeping under the snowy cambric which descended with symmetrical precision on each side of the face, attested either the forgetfulness or contempt of the fair wearers for the invariable monastic ordinance which prescribes that the hair, solemnly cut off at the ceremony of the profession, shall never more be allowed to grow. Their veils and pelerins were of the most costly cambric—they decorated their fair slender fingers with jewelled rings,

“ And crosses on their bosoms wore,
Which Jews might worship and infidels adore.”

Their chaplets of gold or silver, enriched with precious stones often curiously carved, would have vied with those of Louis Quatorze or Anne of Austria, and the quaint and sad apparel of their rule, thus modified by the hand of taste, became rather dignified, imposing, and becoming, than awful or repulsive.

But these were minor points of offence—dust in the balance when weighed against other deviations from their vows. The privacy of the cloister was no longer respected—young and noble chevaliers, under the plea of consanguinity or friendship, were to be seen at almost all hours entering the great gates of the monastery, or lounging in the magnificent parlour appropriated to the reception of guests and strangers. Strong sus-

picion also existed that they had followed the example of Anne of Höwen, late abbess of the noble ladies at Zurick, who availing herself of an ancient custom which consecrated a sombre season of the year to the enjoyment of the carnival, went disguised through the city with her younger brother Frederick. And as Henry of Höwen, the indulgent bishop of Constance, under whose pastoral care they had placed themselves in 1431, was the brother of the noble offenders at Zurick, far too mighty for punishment, it is not altogether impossible that the accusation might have some foundation.*

From time immemorial the inhabitants of Basle have been renowned for their singular attention to the apostolic command which enjoins that "all things should be done decently, and in order." Whilst yet a portion of the Romish church Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini bears testimony to the zealous discharge of their religious duties: and when they embraced the doctrine of the Reformers they became no less remarkable for the consistency and sober gravity of their future walk. Even now Basle is considered one of the most serious cities

* Hottinger, one of the continuators of Müller's History of the Swiss, relating this incident in the life of the abbess of Zurick, with much *naïveté* adds, "and these nocturnal courses were accompanied by *assez grands désordres*."—*Hist. de la Confédération Suisse*, par Jean de Müller.

of Helvetia. The Sabbath is strictly observed by all classes ; and a printed paper, in two languages, affixed to the doors of the cathedral, warns the heedless irreverent stranger that he will not be permitted to indulge his idle curiosity during the hours of Divine Service. By them therefore these irregularities were necessarily considered of so flagrant a nature as to merit very severe reprimand.

But there was yet another body in Basle,—who after having long watched the sisters of Klingenthal, were determined to procure for their errors a far more efficient remedy than mere verbal chastisement—their brothers, the Dominican monks. Half a century had elapsed since the lady Anne of Thierstein, skilfully availing herself of a happy combination of circumstances, had easily succeeded in accomplishing a design which under any other would probably have been defeated ; and the monks had outwardly assented to what their sagacity told them was at the time irremediable. But a legacy of hatred was bequeathed from prior to prior, and the imprudence of the nuns at length awakened a dormant hope that the sentence which banished them from the paradisiacal Eden of Klingenthal might be reversed. A change had come over the fortunes of the house of Thierstein, whose influence materially turned the scale in favour of the convent ; and a yet greater revolution in the opinions and manners of the age was silently but gradually unfolding

itself, which promised a different termination to any future dispute between them.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century Switzerland was, in common with some other nations, separated by position and interest into two portions;—the nobility, haughty, impoverished, and diminished in number by incessant internal skirmishes—expenses brought on by tournaments at home—crusades in Palestine—royal attendances in Germany—and the habit of consigning all the younger branches of a proud, but poor, house to the celibacy of a monastic life,—were becoming each day more sensible, and more jealous, of the encroachments made on their feudal privileges and personal greatness by the plebeian inhabitants of the great cities, once their vassals:—whilst the citizens, whose ever increasing riches and population gave them the interior consciousness of importance, grew hourly less disposed to submit to the servile restraints under which their ancestors groaned in helpless dependence. This feeling of enmity was become excessively strong between the aristocracy and citizens of Basle. Such was the pride of the hierarchy that to belong to a Tribe or Guild, however removed from any thing degrading in its nature, was a sufficient exclusion from the chapter of the cathedral, whatever the learning or virtue of the applicant for admission; and in all the every-day concerns of society there was a wall of adamant between the two *castes*, which Æneas Sylvius

Piccolomini says nothing but important civic dignities or immense wealth could ever remove.*

In the contest which arose between Basle, the pope (Eugene IV.), and the emperor, such was the hatred of the nobility to the wealthy burghers, that, losing sight of the ordinary policy of statesmen, they opened their country to the troops of a mutual enemy, hoping to make a glorious peace for themselves after they had

* This state of things was not peculiar to Basle—the citizens who were every where rising into opulence by commerce and prudence could ill brook the mortifying distinctions which yet existed between them and the nobles, impoverished by wars, luxury, and idleness. Strong in the importance of wealth, they began to intimate that Time had undermined the barrier which feudal pride erected against them. At Nuremberg a thin wall intervened between the public baths intended for females; and a citizen whose wife had been unable to bathe because the rooms appropriated to her class were full, although those allotted to ladies of a higher order remained empty, said tartly to a German noble, “it was high time to break down the partition which separated *la dame* from *la femme*!”—the lady from the woman.

Nor was the reluctance to be trenched upon always confined to the nobility. Philippe-le-bel of France having made peace with the count Guy of Dampierre lord of Bruges, to grace the reconciliation, brought his queen to that city about 1300. The haughty queen, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, displeased with the brilliant display made by the wives of the nobility and rich citizens, exclaimed, “I thought I should have been the only queen here, but I find, alas! a hundred around me,”—*Ohimè! che io pensava d'esser, regina sola, &c. &c.—Guicciardini.*

lowered the courage and exhausted the finances of the insolent citizen upstarts now wrestling with them for power and position. The quarter-general of the dauphin was at Pfeffingen, one of the numerous *châteaux* of the counts of Thierstein; and at the period of the battle of St. Jacob, four thousand Swiss were unhappily engaged in besieging another of his castles, that of Farnsburg, defended by the count in person, aided by many nobles of his party. It was the twelve hundred men detached from this body who so gallantly lost their lives in an action equal to that of Thermopylæ for determined patriotism and bravery. They were the *élite* of that little army, and their massacre excited a deep sentiment of grief and indignation amongst their compatriots. From this epoch the friendship and confidence which existed for so many hundred years between the citizens of Basle and the counts of Thierstein ceased: each party felt they had gone too far to be cordially forgiven, and believed that their mutual security lay in the abasement of the other.

This noble and gifted family, who had possessed during five centuries great fiefs on the two sides of the Jura, in Alsace, and Western Switzerland, and whose warlike chiefs for a thousand years have figured in Helvetic history, was then gradually descending to that feebleness which precedes the extinction of empires and of families. John of Thierstein, a man of fine presence and ready wit, had been invested with many

imposing public dignities : he held the important office of protector of the council, and was one of the deputies sent to Ripaille to announce to Amadeus duke of Savoy his election to the papal throne. It was he too who presented wine in a golden cup shaped like a barrel to Felix during the splendid pageant of his coronation at Basle, when he received the tiara from the hands of the good cardinal of Arles in the cathedral ; and the determination to appear with the magnificence he deemed indispensable to these functions and his own rank, precipitated the fall of a race related to the imperial house of Habsburg and every other name distinguished in the annals of his native land. Count Oswald, the representative of this illustrious line, a man of turbulent temper, expensive habits, and impoverished finances, the very antipodes of the Simons and Hermons his predecessors of glorious memory, began his career, when scarcely arrived at majority, by an attack on the liberties of his country at the fight of St. Jacob, and from that period to the latest hour of his long life he was ever at war at home or abroad. When he had no private quarrel of his own on his hands he turned his attention to those of others, and his skill as a commander, with intrepid bravery, made his offer of service generally acceptable. He often lent his sword to the archduke Sigismund of Austria, well agreed with him in his political views, and besides receiving large sums of money in return was appointed

the duke's seneschal, *landvogt*, or high bailiff, in Brisach, and subsequently mareschal of Lorraine,—appointments, which conferred on him great personal weight in the country, with many pecuniary emoluments. Ardent, indefatigable, and inventive, he disdained no means to accomplish a favourite purpose: now he got himself by some stratagem elected a citizen of Basle that he might overawe its council, and then, not reaping all the success he anticipated from this manœuvre, sought the freedom of the city of Soleure, (whose senate had advanced him frequent loans on different portions of his domains,) in order to obtain assistance against his fellow burghers the honest Balois, who had resisted, and very naturally, a claim set up in the name of his late father count John for the payment of certain expenses incurred in making war on them! The details of the circumstances attending his dissensions with the citizens present a curious picture of the state of society abroad at the close of the 15th century. On the termination of some struggle between the principality of Austria and Basle, it was definitively agreed that each of the contending powers should compensate their several followers. The citizens of Basle forthwith discharged their debts of honour, and disbanded the soldiers who had aided them. The duke was not equally punctual; and count John of Thierstein, who had commanded the troops on his behalf, threatened to renew the war if his pay were longer withheld, together with a further sum of seventeen

thousand florins for the reparation of the castle of Pfeffingen,* much injured in the progress of the contest. The money was paid, but the castle remained an apple of discord; and after the death of count John his two sons Oswald and William required the city of Basle to furnish the required sum. It was in vain that the Austrian administrators offered to stand bail for the citizens till the matter could be fairly discussed: they insisted on its instant discharge. Count Oswald sold an estate to enable him to garrison his castle, and worked so effectually on the civic pride of his new

* Some ruins of Pfeffingen yet exist. The fosses are filled up by the fallen ramparts; so that it is almost as impossible to approach the wreck of its warlike enclosure as when protected by the fierce guardians of former times. It fell with Furstenstein-Berenfels and Augenstein under the attacks of Soleure and Basle, prompt to divide this rich spoil. Each castle had its *Gefängniss*, or forgotten tower, (so were named the terrible prisons of the middle ages,) sometimes placed in the centre, sometimes at the corner of these fearful masses of stone, scarcely distinguishable from the solid rocks on which they were situated. There was no entrance but at the top, from whence a little food was occasionally thrown down on the miserable heads of the captives, who were far oftener left to perish by hunger. The old dismantled castle of Baden-Baden (not the one whose *oubliettes* Mrs. Trollope entered) has two, into which the writer looked down from the ruined ramparts. Workmen were closing the entrance into the "treacherous guest-chamber" she has so well described in the ducal palace, when the author paid her visit to this sad memorial of human suffering and human crime at Baden-Baden.

co-citizens of Soleure, to whom he had recently sold an estate, or rather yielded up one long heavily mortgaged to them, that they were brought to declare they would defend his pretensions by force of arms. Too wise to bring on a war for the sake of seventeen thousand florins the citizens of Basle produced the money, and got rid for the moment of so troublesome a neighbour. But for the moment only.

Soon again in want of funds to support his half military, half princely establishments, and strong in his alliances with Soleure and Berne, he turned his attention to a part of the great commercial road of the city, which lay within a few miles of his castle of Farnsburg; and speedily running up a couple of little round lantern-like towers, well garnished with a dozen grim-looking soldiers, he demanded a heavy toll from all whose business or pleasure led them that way; stopping, till imprisonment brought to obedience, those who remonstrated against this illegal imposition.

The Balois, discreetly put off their resentment "to a more convenient season," which their sagacity foresaw his impetuous temper would ere long present. Nor were they mistaken: a sudden quarrel with his former staunch friends and adherents the citizens of Soleure having weakened his political importance, they eagerly seized on the occasion, sallied out in a strong body, burst open the toll-house, made pri-

soners of the little troop appointed to enforce its onerous requisitions, and razed the two towers to the ground.

The count was stung by shame and rage, but not daring to attack them single-handed, he too dissimulated till he had concerted such measures as, he trusted, would ensure him ample vengeance. With this view he sold Brunstadt, one of the most ancient patrimonial inheritance of his family, for 2900 German florins; secretly provisioned his favourite castle of Pffeffingen, situated on the slope of a mountain above Basle overlooking the river Birse, and after introducing by degrees several detached corps of chosen auxiliaries he waited for a propitious moment to execute his design. It was that of a hot-headed man, blinded by his passions, and utterly failed, though not deficient in boldness or ingenuity. During the feastings and rejoicings of the citizens on the evening of the new year of 1469 he suddenly took possession of the gate of Escheim, and with the assistance of 200 mercenaries attempted to penetrate into the heart of the city, hoping to take prisoners the burgomaster and senate, for whose ransom he intended to demand a sum that would fully reimburse him for the expenses he had incurred, besides exacting other conditions favourable to his interests during their captivity. To secure the success of this project, he had some months previously caused a couple of his most trusty followers, disguised

as country traders intending to open a shop at the commencement of the year, to hire a small house near the gate through which he proposed making his entry, and they had orders to set fire to it at a stated hour, when all should be in readiness without, both as a guiding light to himself, and to divert the attention of the people from the gate by which he proposed to make his entry. He spent the day at an hostelry in the city, apparently there as a simple visitor to view what was going on in the shape of amusement, but withdrew in the dusk to complete his arrangements; and when all was finally settled, he led on his band, under cover of night, arriving at the very moment when he had calculated that the alarm and confusion created by the fire would be at its climax. Unluckily for this lawless scheme, the fire was lighted a little too early, soon discovered, and promptly extinguished. Notwithstanding this failure, his agents contrived to get the gate partially open, on the pretence of passing out with some effects saved from the fire, and the count instantly forced his passage through with all his band. But he had grievously miscalculated his own resources, and misunderstood the temper of those with whom he had to deal: the time was arrived when they were more disposed to give blows than receive them. The *tocsin* sounded an immediate call to arms; and although it was intensely dark and cold, the streets deep in snow, which had enabled him to approach the walls

unsuspected by the sentinel, every citizen issued forth in a few moments clad as he was from his festive board, and armed with such weapons as chance threw in his way. A fierce contest ensued, and several lives were lost on each side before the count, after some gallant fighting, befitting a better cause, saw himself obliged to take flight. His followers prudently laid down their arms, and the senate, alike clement and wise, contenting themselves with victory, dismissed their prisoners on the simple condition that they would never more serve against the city. A hollow peace for a few short years ensued after this rash outbreak of ill-digested resentment; but there was no cordial reconciliation between the parties, who might not unaptly be considered as personifying in their individual dislike and distrust the feelings of the two classes, patrician and plebeian, now all but in collision.

It was about this critical juncture that the irregularities and extravagances of the nuns of Klingenthal, towering in truth to a height that seemed to call for repression, presented to the Dominican monks the opportunity for which they had so long panted.*

* "Elles ne respectèrent plus leur clôture, et remplirent de scandale la ville de Bâle par leur luxe, leur mondanité et leurs intrigues galantes. Quelques-unes d'entr'elles passaient pour violer leur vœu de célibat et pour recevoir publiquement les soins de jeunes gentilshommes, qui sous prétexte de parentage

Under the plausible plea that religion and decency were outraged by the licence of manners reigning at Klingenthal, they prevailed on the burgomaster and council to support them in a petition addressed to the pope, praying him to be pleased to examine into the conduct of the Dominican sisters of Klingenthal, and appoint such remedies and punishments as he in his wisdom might think proper for such heinous delinquencies.

At first the wary senators were somewhat reluctant to join in an open crusade against a community of females enjoying the high privilege of citizenship, and connected by consanguinity or friendship with most of the noble families of the country. But the Dominican brothers, who had gained in public estimation what the sisters had lost in the long lapse of years since their separation, were become richer, more numerous, and more enlightened, and above all, were united to many of the citizens by that strongest of earthly bonds (since it links together the two worlds), the tie of confessorship,—urged so warmly the disgrace incurred by the city in winking at such enormities, that they finally gained their point; and at the close of the year 1479, the sub-prior attended by two monks proceeded to Rome to lay the petition thus signed at the feet of his Holiness.

se rendaient à toute heure au parloir.”—*Conservateur Suisse, La Guerre des Nonnains*, p. 388

The reigning pontiff Sixtus IV. was not precisely the person authorised by Holy Writ "to throw the first stone" at the nuns of Klingenthal, whatever their errors; but without seemingly reflecting on the frailty of nature in his own case, he immediately appointed Jacob of Stubach, provincial or grand master of the Dominical order in Alsace, not to investigate the charges alleged against them ere he should proceed to condemnation and judgment, but to be the bearer of a mandate empowering him to exercise a most rigid reform throughout the whole cloister; withdraw the nuns from the pastoral guidance of the bishop of Constance, and replace them under the absolute authority of the Dominican brothers of Basle.* The brief further exacted from the nuns a minute

* "Pabst Sixtus der Vierte hatte dieser Zeit aus des Prediger-Ordens Anregen Bericht eingenommem, welcher massen die Schwestern des Klosters Clingenthal zu Mindern Basel ein üppig und liederlich Wesen, wider ihren geistlichen Staat und weibliche Zucht, führeten, und viele Jahr daher geführt hätten. Desshalben er Jacoben von Stubach, Prediger-Ordens Provincialmeister in Teutschlanden, Commission gab, solch unordentlich und befleckt Leben, durch Anrichtung der regulierten Observantz, abzuschaffen: dessgleichen sie von des Bischoffs zu Constantz Gehorsame, deren sie sich hievor im 1431 Jahr untergeben, zu entledigen, und wiederum unter die Versehung Prediger-Ordens (welchem sie von altem Gehorsame gethan) zu weisen. Liess hierum dem Bischoff und Stadt Basel: item Herrn Wilhelm von Rapolstein, Hertzog Sigmunds Landvogt im Elsass, &c. Schreiben zukommen, dem Predigermeister zu

account of their expenditure, and that each sister, especially those who held any office, such as stewardess, housekeeper, or burser, should make accurate declarations of general and individual property, that the whole might pass into the hands of the monks for its better conservation ; and further to secure tranquil acquiescence in these mortifying arrangements, they were informed that "the least display of resistance" would be followed by instant removal to other religious institutions, and Klingenthal bestowed on successors "more worthy than they."*

That the provincial might be enabled to carry this severe chastisement more effectually into execution, the pope joined to the commission William of Rappolstein, who, in consequence of some dispute between the archduke Sigismund of Austria and count Oswald of Thierstein, had succeeded the latter in the high office of landvogt of Alsace. All German writers coincide in speaking of him as one not likely to spare the rod for the sake of the crying. "He was," says Müller, "a grave, courageous, powerful baron, stern even to harshness:" and Schöpflin alludes in emphatic terms to his

solchem Fürnehmen Hülfe zu beweisen."—*Christian Wurstisen. Chronicle of Basle, 13th Chapter.*

* Reformation of the White Sisters with Black Veils of the Convent of Klingenthal—Reformation der Weissen Schweistern mit den Schwartzten pletzen.—*Wurstisen. Great Chronicle of Basel.*

over-weening pride. From these features of his character the pope doubtless deemed him well-fitted for bearing a resolute part on such an occasion with the bishops of Basle and Constance, the burgomaster and senate of Basle, and the priors, abbots, and heads of religious houses in the city. Thus supported, the provincial reached Basle the first week of January in 1480, and after sending a sufficiently short notice to the prioress of Klingenthal communicating his purposed visit, repaired thither in great state attended by all his coadjutors, excepting the two bishops, who substituted their grand vicars, and several other ecclesiastics and magistrates not included in the commission, but willing to be present at a scene singular from its rare occurrence and the sex and rank of the culprits.

On reaching the great gates admission was demanded in the formidable name of the pope; and the reverend members of the procession were in silence conducted into the parlour, a large room in all female convents, divided into two by an open grating of iron work, through which the veiled inmates are sometimes permitted to hold converse with their friends from the world they have quitted. Here, in that portion dedicated to visitors, they found the prioress seated in her chair of state, with her twenty-three nuns standing on either side; and after a few cold salutations the grand master proceeded to the execution of his difficult and unpleasant task.

The ladies of Klingenthal were not unprepared for this visit, nor to a certain degree for its consequences. Though extreme care had been taken by the monks to veil their hostile proceedings, enough had transpired to render them aware that some sinister blow was aiming at their independence, which they were resolved to ward off to the utmost of their ability. Counting on their birth, connexions, and affluence, they expected that a severe reprimand and an urgent admonition to return to the thorny path of duty, emanating from the governor-general of the Dominican order, with, perhaps, some future inspection on the part of the bishop of Basle, whose jurisdiction they formerly acknowledged, would be the extremity of the impending punishment; and without much uneasiness awaited its approach. The unlooked-for announcement of a papal bull seemed to place their situation in a more serious point of view; and as a message far too awful to be lightly regarded, the whole sisterhood assembled in solemn silence to hear it read. To the preamble,—which set forth that the head of the Christian church, moved thereto by the holy brother-preachers of the Dominican order at Basle, and the burgomaster and senate of that city, having on due investigation discovered that they the said sisters of Klingenthal led, and had led for many years, a luxurious, dissipated, ungodly life, contrary to the holiness and modesty appertaining to their vows as spouses of Christ, dedicated to fleshly morti-

fication and good works ; neglecting their duties, and thereby bringing scandal on their profession and religion, &c. &c. &c.—they listened in contemptuous silence, simply acknowledging from time to time the charges preferred against them by a disdainful smile or haughty look of defiance : but ere the apostolic letter was half-concluded, astonishment and indignation burst forth in muttered exclamations of resentment so loud as to render the sonorous voice of the provincial almost inaudible ; and when he at length reached that part which delivered them unconditionally into the absolute power of the brother-preachers, whose partial yoke had been found so galling to the community fifty years before, rage and amazement overleaping all the boundaries of prudence and propriety, rendered every attempt to conclude it impossible. The prioress started from her throne in a paroxysm of fury ; and with some of the elder sisters rushed into the midst of the commissioners, hurling at the brother-preachers and senators of Basle threats of vengeance through the instrumentality of the several counts, and barons, and knights, with whom they claimed kindred or acquaintance,—now taunting them, especially the Dominicans, with divers insulting epithets and insinuations very derogatory to the honour of that reverend body, then declaring that if, as menaced, any attempt should be made to remove them from the convent they would set fire to it ere their expulsion. Meanwhile, the juvenile

and more active nuns, aided by youthful limbs and ardent spirits, rushed from the parlour to the vast kitchen, from whence they quickly returned to the scene of action armed with brushes, spits, tongs,* choppers, cleavers — every domestic utensil, in fine, which presented itself to their flashing eyes and eager hands.

The provincial of Alsace and his dignified associates, who had probably listened to the injurious reproaches of the prioress and her companions with manly indifference, anticipating perhaps something of the sort, mingled with the sighs, tears, and swoons, said to be usual with the fair sex on great occasions of woe, or wrong, or wrath, were overwhelmed by this sudden and most energetic display of feminine valour: personal safety absorbing all other considerations, with one accord they hastily retreated to the door; made good, not without some difficulty, their way unscathed through the narrow passages and outer courts till they reached the grand portal, whence they bolted into the street, leaving the papal bull behind them, in company with sundry broad bands, and deep plaited white frills, and ruffles, torn from their necks and hands in the scuffle: some destitute of cloaks, others denuded of

* "Einen Bratspiess, die andere einen Prügel," &c. &c. &c. &c.—*Würstisen. Conservateur Suisse*, Article 39, p. 394.

hats, and all in a state of the most grievous alarm, shame, and confusion.*

This unseemly commencement of hostilities on the side of the nuns did not long remain without reprisals. The grand master, a tall athletic man in the vigour of life, stern and inflexible in character, when he recovered from the amazement that had at the moment seemingly stultified his energies, took vigorous measures to execute the troublesome enterprise which had devolved on him. The very next morning by ten o'clock the discomfited reformers assembled in great force, and returned to the charge. They were accompanied this time by a military escort, and defiling before the convent gates once more formally demanded ingress in the

* It has been thought right to rescue the names of these spirited damsels of high degree from oblivion, and they are accordingly subjoined as they stand in Würstisen's German Chronicle of Basle.

Anna Zergelten Prioress, Margaret von Hauss, who had been 70 years in the order, R. Bidermennin, Agnes Hauswirtin, Bridgitte von Schweighausen, Magdalena Bastard von Ochsenstein, Johanna von Roggenbach, Clementina von Lauffen, Anna Schoppin, Margaret Blatnerin, Verrina von Reimlang, Elizabeth Löwlin, Elizabeth zu Rhein, Dorothea Müntzmeisterin, Margaret von Eschenberg, Elizabeth von Gerütt, Anna Meyerin, Cordula von Efringen, Martha Schreiberin, Helena von Kilch, Clara zu Rhein, Anna von Gerütt, Barbara von Röt.

sacred name of the pope. All was silent within ; the gates were strongly barred ; and no answer having been returned after three distinct summonses, they were immediately burst open by the orders of the provincial ; and the several members forming the commission marched into the quadrangle attended by a small body of armed soldiers. The interior doors of the building were next forced, and in a few minutes the provincial and his party found themselves masters of the apartment from whence they had been so uncere- moniously expelled the preceding day.

As feminine violence and resolution must ever succumb if opposed to the same degree of masculine violence and resolution, because the preponderating weight of sex is then thrown into the trembling scale, this determined proceeding having convinced the nuns that all further resistance would be alike degrading to them and exasperating to their opponents, they presented themselves once more to the unwelcome deputation, and drowned in tears consented to hear the fatal bull from beginning to end—too happy had that proved the sole grief of the day.

But the haughty provincial, who had taken up his abode with the Dominican monks in their spacious monastery at Great Basle, incensed at the ludicrous figure he had made in the yesterday's retreat, and no doubt influenced by the secret wishes of his entertainers to enter as soon as possible upon the broad lands and

goodly possessions of Klingenthal, the instant he had concluded reading, stopped the torrent of denials, explanations, and protestations of future amendment of manners, which burst from every quivering lip, by communicating his immoveable will that, unless they gave an immediate and solemn promise to comply with every iota of the bull, and forthwith deliver up their keys and writings to the prior of the brother-preachers, they should in one week be dispersed into different convents belonging to the order, and Klingenthal bestowed upon a sisterhood of the same rule who had already submitted to the stringent reform required from themselves.

In this sweeping punishment all were included, not exempting even the lady Margaret von Hauss, who had lived within the walls upwards of seventy years, having been brought there a mere child on the death of both her parents, and against whom there had never been a shadow of reproach. So summary and severe a sentence revived the sinking courage of the illustrious delinquents; and they unanimously declared they would never submit to receive the Dominican monks as their guides spiritual or temporal; and that if removed from Klingenthal it should be by force.

As the provincial was departing two nuns followed him, and with streaming eyes entreated permission to remain, promising to obey whoever might be appointed prioress or confessor: it is scarcely necessary to say

lady Margaret von Hauss was one of them. Novelty, so delightful to the young, is in its very nature a misery to the old, however pleasing in itself; and the poor aged creature, who had already passed more than the allotted term of man within a building which had been the whole world to her, the scene of her infancy, girlhood, prime, and decay, naturally shrunk with dismay from the dreary prospect of seeking a dishonoured grave among strangers in an unknown land.

After having fixed seals to the chests and wardrobes containing the principal effects of the institution, and placed guards to watch over the building and prevent the escape of either the nuns or their treasures, the commissioners returned to Basle, leaving the disconsolate sisters to ruminate on what had passed.

For some days the prioress and her ladies were incapable of rousing themselves from the stupor of sorrow and amazement brought on by this unexpected attack on their wealth, rank, and reputation. To be given up to the secular arm of their former persecutors, without power of appeal, had struck them like death—paralysed them, body and soul; but the principle of life was still within each bosom: and when the brief period allotted for reflection waned to its close, the spirit of the lady Anne of Thierstein revived in the person of her successor Anna Zergelten. As the

phoenix rises from its ashes endowed with fresh vigour, so the fair young prioress, instinct with pride and resentment, and, perhaps, the innate consciousness of innocence, albeit appearances were solely against her! awoke to action, and determined that she would not peaceably abdicate in favour of the usurping prior; but defend herself, her subjects, and her little kingdom, as a rightful sovereign ought to do, to the last extremity.

In the sort of imprisonment to which they were now subjected, it became difficult to decide what would be the best plan to adopt for their common safety. It was not even easy to make known their painful position to those who were the most interested in their welfare. The conveyance of letters excepting by special messengers was slow and hazardous; most of their immediate relatives inhabited castles in remote districts, and long before they could arrive, however spurred on by affection, the period for action would be past. And a sentence once executed it might never be possible to reverse. To gain time under these circumstances was clearly their best course, and through the medium of a lay sister permitted to go freely in and out, to purchase necessities for the establishment, letters were despatched to the margrave Rudolph von Hochberg, the baron Martin von Stauffen, and Rudolph von Watweiler, knight, friends of some of the nuns residing not far from Basle, imploring them to inter-

cede with the provincial for the delay of another week, to enable them to draw up the statement of their affairs required by the pope, during which period they promised to take its conditions into serious consideration.

These letters reached the persons to whom they were addressed ; and they lost no time in urging upon the provincial the propriety of granting so reasonable a request. The high station of the parties interfering in their behalf had unquestionably some weight with the provincial ; besides, he was probably aware, on reflection, that he had been somewhat too harsh and precipitate in allowing so short a space for such important arrangements ; hence the petition was granted.

This was a ray of light irradiating a dark horizon ; the nuns breathed freely again ; and whilst the monks, who had little calculated on the energy that despair sometimes bestows, lay lazily on their oars, never dreaming of the possibility of the shipwreck of a papal bull amid the shallows and quicksands of female intellect, they were occupied night and day not only in preparing schedules, drawing up statements of landed property, and inventories of household effects ; but in consulting with their relations as to their future line of conduct, and concerting schemes for eluding the performance of the pope's requisitions.

In the meanwhile the margrave of Hochberg* and several other nobles had frequent interviews with the provincial, conjuring him to treat with as much lenity and delicacy as possible, if it were but in deference to their relatives, women so highly connected ; and finally he was brought to consent to an interview with the nuns and their friends, on the Friday before the day commemorative of the conversion of St. Paul, when it was definitively decreed that a further respite of two months should be allowed for the proper settlement of such multiplied affairs ; and that if, at the expiration of the term, they could not bring themselves to render the requisite obedience to the brother-preachers (the chief matter in dispute), they should be allowed to depart in peace either to their respective homes, or into convents of their own selecting, taking away whatever they individually possessed, or might have brought into the convent :—in return for which concession they agreed to give up faithfully all the charters, deeds, papers, plate, furniture, and monies belonging to the establishment.

The nuns, whose acuteness enabled them to see that each prolongation of time was a step towards conquest,

* Four sisters of the family of Hochberg (probably the aunts of the margrave) were nuns of St. Clara at Basle in 1440. So universally were convents the lot of young females in high life.—*Vier Töchtern Kloster-frauen zu S. Clara zu Basel*, 1440.

begged hard for a probationary year ; successively diminishing the boon prayed for to eight, six, or three months duration. They declared that the graver accusations brought against them were utterly void of foundation, and they promised, on the honour of the noblemen their friends and guarantees, that their future conduct should amply redeem all past irregularities. But on this point the provincial was inflexible. He had already conceded more than the commission authorized, or he himself would probably have granted, but for some peculiar circumstances which demanded caution even in victory.

The season was exceedingly severe ; the roads, at that early period of civilization in Germany and Alsace, were little more than bridle paths, beautiful to the lover of the picturesque in summer, but replete with dangers and discomforts to the traveller in winter. Besides the twenty-four nuns, the walls contained several novices, and many little maidens of gentle birth, sent there for safety or education, all of whom it would be necessary to return to their parental roofs if the establishment were ultimately dissolved. But there was yet another reason for endeavouring to carry out the dispositions of the bull, amicably if possible, which doubtless had much influence over his mind, and controlled the impatience of his entertainers. At the period of the fire, now fourteen years since, many charters, deeds, and other important documents were

positively burnt; and although the monks, their predecessors, had made copies of every valuable writing during their reign as advisers and agents, it was not possible to ascertain what had perished in the flames without the assistance of the nuns themselves, who, being then their own mistresses, had not been obliged to make any statements on the subject. Property had undergone a great change in the preceding half-century; rents had risen; it was known that some considerable bequests and donations had been subsequently made to the conventual revenue; and so situated, there was policy as well as humanity in not goading the conquered to the uttermost verge of despair.

In conformity with the stipulations of the treaty, the seals were removed, that legal inventories of all the goods, chattels, and effects belonging to the convent might be taken in his presence; when it appeared that, notwithstanding what was lost in the fire lighted by the hapless nun, Klingenthal remained as richly furnished as Gremio describes his house at Padua to have been, in the enumeration he makes of his wealth to win the fair Bianca's love. There was ample store of

“————— Plate and gold;
Basins and ewers, to lave the dainty hands;
—— Hangings all of Tyrian tapestry;
—— Ivory coffers stuff'd with crowns.

In cypress chests arras, and counterpoints,
Costly apparel, fine linen and canopies,
———— Gold in needlework,
Pewter and brass, and all things that belong
To house or housekeeping."

To this goodly list were superadded the superb ornaments of their church,—silver chandeliers and *encensoirs*; huge carved presses filled with rich priestly garments and silken hangings; altar services, and images of saints in silver and gold and ivory, with crowns for their heads and jewels for their attire; pictures and sculptures in marble, ebony, and bronze. All these costly articles were duly registered; and the major part, with the title-deeds and other documents appertaining to the house, delivered into the keeping of the prior of the brother-preachers till the question should be finally settled. A gracious intimation was given to the sorrowful proprietors that, on submission and repentance, they might be permitted to resume possession of these valuables with the government of their convent: but as it dropped, apparently incidentally, from the provincial, that the nuns who were to succeed them *in case* they should persist in refusing allegiance to the brother-preachers, had *already* been warned to hold themselves in readiness for the journey, this was considered a promise made rather to the ear than to the understanding, and awakened no corresponding feeling of security or hope in those to whom it was

addressed ; a long series of griefs on the one side, and repelled exactions on the other, having finally annihilated all confidence between them. After fixing the exact period of his return, the provincial departed for Alsace, flattering himself that all was now in a fair train towards friendly adjustment ; whilst the nuns prepared for resistance, and the monks for possession.

Time—of all certain things the most uncertain ; whose passage is to some the lagging foot of decrepit age, to others the lightning's flash—was thus counted during the two allotted months of the provincial's absence by the monks and nuns of St. Dominic at Basle. It came however, as all things must, to an end at its own proper period ; and brought the punctual provincial, their common master, on the very day before its expiration.

The male members of religious corporations were so little accustomed to rebellion on the part of their female co-disciples, that, despite the fierce spirit which showed itself amongst the inmates of Klingenthal, the provincial had no apprehension of further opposition. He considered the affair settled : the nuns would either stay on his terms or go on their own—to him it was very likely a matter of indifference ; and he walked to the convent simply accompanied by the prior of the Dominicans, and one or two other ecclesiastics, as witnesses of the happy termination of the contest.

The little party obtained ready admission ; and when the assembled nuns again met his view they looked so meek and so resigned, that he thought they were prepared to accept all the conditions of the bull. Great indeed was his astonishment, when the prioress, in a calm but firm voice declared, that "she would never consent to relinquish her inalienable rights, and those of the community, to the prior of the brother-preachers ; not quit the convent without compulsion." In this decision she was joined by seventeen of the nuns, a small minority of six, including the lady Margaret, having determined to remain in obedience to the papal bull.* It was in vain that the provincial exerted his eloquence, now in threats, then in entreaties, to persuade them to adhere to the contract entered into between the margrave of Hochberg and himself ; they continued obstinately bent on being independent mistresses of Klingenthal, or forced out of its walls.

As the gentle shepherd of patriarchal times was moved to choler by the unreasonable complainings of the beloved and beautiful Rachel, for whom he had patiently borne fourteen years of bitter servitude without a murmur, it is not to be wondered at that Jacob von Stubach, who thought he had yielded so much to ensure the amicable termination of the question—who had but just arrived a second time from Strasburg, after a long journey (not performed

* "Hernach sechs wieder hinein traten."—*Würstisen*.

as such journeys may now be performed, lolling in luxurious, elegant carriages propelled by flying engines, but) jolting on horseback in winter, over many a steep stony hill and rushing torrent, glad at night to sleep in a cold comfortless inn ; and after a wretched bed, and still more wretched breakfast, start again, in wet or sunshine, to undergo the same perils and fatigues, all on account of their quarrels and misdemeanours ; to whom the changing wind of female caprices was as little known as the sirocco of the desert ; and who, moreover, remembered no doubt the unseemly attacks made on himself in that very room, when in the lawful execution of a papal bull, by the tongues and hands of, as he most righteously believed, very faulty ladies,—should now lose all patience. With as many hasty expressions as may be supposed possible to escape from one in his grave, dignified station, he promised them he would at least fulfil their last wish to the very letter ; and forthwith sent for several of the heavy, rumbling, rattling vehicles, which even then might be hired at the spacious old hostelry, called the Three Kings, on the opposite side of the Rhine ; commanding them in the interim to pack up such things, and such only, as belonged to them personally. The whole convent instantly became a scene of uproar and confusion : some of the nuns tore off their conventual dresses, and flinging them upon the ground, called on the ecclesiastics present to witness that, “driven from

the holy altar at which they had pledged their vows, and thrown again on the world, they considered themselves exonerated from the profession they had embraced:” others protested that, in a much shorter period than their enemies imagined, they should return in triumph; and the prioress, with inconceivable boldness, would have carried away several of the articles enumerated in the registers as sequestered, had she not been prevented by the strenuous exertions of the prior of the Dominicans and other ecclesiastics. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the order, the carriages were ready long before the paraphernalia of the eighteen ladies, though nuns, could be mustered; and when got together, it was still with difficulty that the half-bewildered provincial could enforce the departure of these turbulent undutiful daughters of St. Dominic before the close of the day. Of this number the prioress and four others were allowed to choose their own residence; the remaining thirteen, whether as a punishment for extraordinary violence, or because less influential in connexion, were dispersed into different convents.*

* Nonnen aus Klingenthal gestossen, an. 1480.—*Würstisen*. No mention is made of the captive nun in this transfer of persons and possessions. She was probably dead even before the reign of Anna Zergelten commenced. The inmates of public prisons often attain longevity, but the tenants of *private* establishments rarely go beyond a few brief years. And what bitter tears,

To prevent the possibility of a second interference in favour of these degenerate sisters, the provincial sent off an express the same evening to the prioress of a convent named *Himmel-porten* (Heaven's-gate), at Gebweiler, a small town in Upper Alsace, not far from Colmar ; and in a few days the obedient prioress and her docile flock, consisting of twelve nuns, were duly installed in the possession of the rich and ancient convent of Klingenthal.

The provincial's next care was to despatch letters to the relations of the novices and still younger inmates of the convent, announcing this important change in the establishment, and requesting to know what plan they chose to direct under such circumstances. The reply was invariably the same : each friend or parent withdrew the object of his love from the guardianship of nuns strangers to them ; and all were consequently returned under proper escort to their respective homes. The provincial conceived he had now nothing more to do ; and leaving the subdued sisters of Heaven's-gate to make their arrangements with the preaching-brothers, he departed for Alsace, no doubt right glad that he was so well quit of the entire affair.

what heart-rending sobs, what cries of despair have not burst from the victim, ere the last long sigh has been breathed to the desolate walls of his dungeon, or the cold callous ear of jailer or keeper !

But he was speedily destined to find the peace he had promised himself a delusion. The monks, who had now the entire administration of the temporalities of the nunnery, soon wrote to complain that the charters, ledgers, and other documents left by the exiles were so deficient and inaccurate, that they could form no estimate of its resources ; nor even make out in numberless instances the nomenclature of the vassals whose feudal obligations appeared, by former writings, the most valuable jewels in the conventual crown ; and the prior having already vainly written several times to the prioress Anna Zergelten, soliciting some further light into the affairs of the community, they now prayed the provincial to use what influence he might possess over her in furtherance of their labours.

As the white ladies had been permitted to take away a large sum of money to defray the immediate expenses attendant on their sudden change of position ; and, by the terms of the treaty between himself and the margrave of Hochberg, they would soon have a right to demand double that amount ; and knowing moreover that their successors were a very poorly endowed body of nuns, mainly springing from noble but impoverished families, Jacob of Stubach did not decline the exercise of his good offices, though possibly with some misgivings as to the happy result of the application. He wrote therefore many letters to the late

prioress and her treasurer, urging the necessity of affording such information as might tend to elucidate the perplexities of their female successors, who had done them no wrong, and were also of aristocratic ancestry; and he pressed on their attention that, as the controversy was for ever at an end by their expulsion, it would be alike useless and injurious to their own reputation for probity and good sense to persist in withholding the details sought for. But fruitlessly, as head of the Dominicans in Alsace, turn in turn he menaced or coaxed, scolded or flattered, now entreated, now demanded, the instructions so anxiously awaited. The contumacious prioress and her former adjutor remained silent as the grave; and the newly-installed nuns at Klingenthal, with immense buildings and a large establishment to maintain, soon experienced considerable pecuniary embarrassment. Easter was however approaching, the period at which the principal rents were received; and this temporary inconvenience resulting from the incivility of the haughty ex-prioress would then, it was hoped, be removed by the voluntary homage of the vassals of the convent.

The eagerly wished-for day at length arrived; but great was the disappointment it brought. The tenantry came slowly in, bearing such very light burdens of bullion and produce that the monks, who had with them the registers of former palmy times, became persuaded there must be either mistake or unfairness

somewhere. They questioned the six nuns who had acquiesced in the new order of things ; but derived no consolation from them. Five of the number were young women, who declared they had never borne any part in the administration of the establishment ; and the old lady could remember nothing ! Considering her advanced age, and what she had gone through during the conflict, this absence of recollection was not surprising ; yet from some circumstances afterwards developed, an idea prevailed that the faculties of the venerable dame were in a more vigorous state than she represented ; and that she, as well as the five virgins, her obedient associates, wise rather than foolish on this occasion, might have remained more as spies than allies in the enemy's camp. It was now supposed that this woeful deficit arose from the chief feodatories and lease owners (who had learnt the change of dynasty), fearing to pay over money which might, perchance, be redemanded in case the banished prioress should return ; and that at Michaelmas, seeing the stability of the new government, these timid-hearted men would all crowd in, bringing the two half-years' rent with them. To strengthen their confidence, the monks wrote many letters, and directed them to various parties whose names appeared on the schedules, requiring their punctual appearance on the customary days of attendance, and acquainting them that, the former mistresses of Klingenthal having been solemnly deposed

and dismissed for divers misdemeanours by his holiness pope Sixtus IV., they never could be reinstated in the possession of the convent; and that therefore neither fears nor delicacies, so far as concerned them, were requisite.

In the meanwhile the nuns, who had returned to the bosom of their families, spoke of themselves and exiled sisters as victims to the slanders and cupidity of the Dominican monks, anxious to rule from mercenary motives; and affecting to believe that the species of restraint in which they were held at the period of the negotiation between the margrave of Hochberg and the provincial, rendered it void, they refused to receive any portion of the dowry they had severally brought into the convent at their profession, lest by so doing they might appear to acquiesce in their forced banishment.* This decision was, at least, convenient for their successors; as every day augmented the inextricable difficulties which surrounded them.

The Michaelmas audit, notwithstanding all the precautions of their monkish guardians, presenting the same "beggarly account" of missing tenantry, added little to the meagre money-chest of Klingenthal. The letters penned to supposed "good men and true,"

* The dowry, as it is called in technical language, is the money that each lady nun brings with her when she takes the veil, and varies from about two hundred pounds, the lowest, to a much higher figure.

proved in several instances to have been addressed to dead men, or men no longer owing allegiance to the convent; and the disheartened monks were compelled to come to the conclusion that the registers, either from accident or design, were wholly defective. By dint of intense labour and perseverance many defaulters were however discovered; but the friends of the expelled nuns talked openly of their coming back, and, despite of all clerly casuistry, many of the vassals preferred being thrown into prison rather than incur the risk of losing their money by paying it into the hands of usurpers; whilst the whole of the occupants of the richest possession of the convent, the lands, fisheries, and forests of Alsace, positively refused, at the instigation of the baron of Klingenberg, whose ancestors had in great measure bestowed them, to make the smallest pecuniary advance till the legitimacy of the reigning prioress should have been the subject of judicial inquiry.

The Easter of 1481 found the affairs of the unlucky maidens of Heaven's-gate in the same, or rather a worse predicament; for proceeding to incarcerate some of the most obstinate of the pecuniary delinquents, they suddenly produced receipts regularly signed by the ex-prioress Anna Zergelten; and as, on investigation, it appeared that the monks, not anticipating such a stroke of policy, had issued no legal authority requiring them to abstain from paying over their rents

to her order as usual, it was decided by the court at Strasburg that they were not punishable. The inconstancy of the multitude, the evanescent nature of human opinion, was soon manifested at Basle. Whatever might be the other faults of the banished prioress and her sisters, they had been generous mistresses and charitable neighbours: it was utterly impossible for the nuns of Gebweiler, with such straitened means as they possessed, to be one or the other; and vainly they sang matins and vespers, and chanted psalms and Litanies, and showed faces as sad and dismal as their costume: they were not liked,—poverty indeed is seldom popular. The scores of beggars and idlers who then habitually held daily levees before the gates and round the walls of convents, watching to be fed with some of the good things which fell from the plethoric tables within, and who had formerly murmured at the luxury and prodigality of those who fed them, now lamented the absence of the “noble, kind-hearted, suffering, ill-used, innocent ladies,” and told their beads, and made *pilgerschaften* or little pilgrimages to neighbouring churches and shrines to expedite their return. Even the tradespeople of both Great and Little Basle shared in some degree the same sentiments. The large orders and quick payments of the magnificent ladies of Klingenthal had formed very pleasing items in their ledgers; and while admitting the fact of “a little freedom of deportment,” they were now disposed

to make many allowances for females of their rank in life, and to believe that the improprieties imputed might have been a little exaggerated by men who, however decorous and respectable in their walk and demeanour, were considered somewhat mercenary in their intercourse with the world, and in this case had manifestly both "killed and taken possession."

Under these untoward circumstances the provincial was again compelled to exert his authority; and as the fair authors of all this mischief were beyond his reach, he sent heralds to Basle, Strasburg, and Constance, who proclaimed for many successive market days before the cathedrals, and in the principal streets and squares, that all who owed fines, rents, or services to the convent of Klingenthal, were bound to acquit themselves of those obligations to the present occupants; and furthermore, he inflicted a penalty of twenty silver marks on every one who should be proved to have paid a single florin to the ex-prioress Anna Zergelten or her agents after this public advertisement.

While such opinions were gradually gaining ground, and such disorders were arising from this singular dissension, the deposed nuns themselves felt the struggle to be a very painful one: the five who had been allowed to choose their own abode, after the first interchanges of kindness with relations were passed, found themselves *de trop* in feudal castles filled by

gay and warlike chevaliers with their fierce retainers, and often the scene of much wassailing and turbulent commotion. They could neither abandon nor retain their conventual dresses and habitudes with propriety, and they knew that their sisters in exile and disgrace had yet much more to endure that was shocking to former independence and self-love. Some of the most culpable had been sent to Gebweiler, to fill up the vacuum caused by the removal of the prioress to Klingenthal; and were subjected to the severe discipline already established under the control of a few aged nuns, by whom they were strictly guarded, as grievous sinners deserving of little compassion and less indulgence; whilst the rest, wherever dispersed, found themselves regarded as sheep gone astray, who having been driven from their own fold by the great pastor of the Christian flock, were admitted but to few familiarities, and narrowly watched lest they might taint by evil communications the better regulated communities which rather tolerated than received them. They were aware too, that their relations regretted the loss sustained by the alienation of Klingenthal, whose walls and endowments were a shelter and provision for younger daughters.

Prompted by all these considerations, the ex-prioress at length condescended, through the medium of a nobleman, to open a negotiation with the prioress *de facto*, offering, for the sake of the parties concerned,

to return to Klingenthal and unite with her in the government of their little kingdom. The building was more than sufficiently spacious for the accommodation of their respective flocks, and the revenues, under their mutual administration, she was assured would be found equally efficient. She professed herself willing to adopt a moderate reform, leaving the question of the preaching-brothers in abeyance, till it could be decided by the committee of friends hereafter to be appointed. This temperate letter, had it been properly met by a spirit of amicable forbearance, might have ended the contest; but whether the prioress of Gebweiler, or the monks, clung to absolute power, or the former feared the admission of such fiery spirits into her quiet domicile, is unknown. The answer was not favourable, and from this moment the quarrel assumed a new and more serious aspect. Messengers were continually passing from one baronial residence to another; and, in their necessary intercourse with the citizens, the nobility treated them with increased coldness or open contempt. The subject was often introduced, and the haughty personages, who either did not think themselves disgraced by the conduct of their daughters, sisters, aunts, and cousins, or, which is far more natural, believed it had been cruelly exaggerated, affecting to consider themselves as personally insulted by the harsh measures resorted to against them, made common cause together; and vowed to avenge the bitter affront

offered to the dignity and honour of their house. To use the words of an old writer, "there was but one universal cry of grief or rather vengeance from all the castles of the aristocracy;" and it was obvious that something was in agitation which boded no peace to the country.

Independent of the personal affections of kindred, and the stings of wounded pride, the complainants had on this occasion other causes for displeasure probably not less irritating though kept wholly out of sight. Most of the expelled nuns undistinguished by the masculine appellation of the line from whence they sprang, were nevertheless connected with the first founders of Klingenthal by marriage or affinity. Barbara vot Röt, Susanna Lauffen, Magdalena Bastard of Ochsenstein, the sisters Clara and Elizabeth zu Rhein, with some others, were of the number. Several were also orphans, whose parents in death had as much considered them eligibly provided for when consigned to Klingenthal as if they had bequeathed to them a part of the family patrimony,—for whilst many excellent persons doubtless endowed monasteries and founded nunneries from pious motives only, others had unquestionably "views on this side paradise," and contemplated the future elevation of a son or daughter to the high and imposing dignity of abbot or abbess-prior or prioress as some indemnification for the present sacrifice. As in the universities of England, a reservation was frequently made

in favour of founders' kin, so in religious houses they usually (and most justly) obtained a preference over competitors not so distinguished: and when two individuals having equal claims from this source were in presence, it has been asserted that as many cabals arose, and as much interest was employed to obtain the necessary suffrages, as to mount the papal throne. Besides which, even a simple nun, in an institution built and endowed by her ancestors, naturally acquired a certain degree of importance amongst her sisterhood; and many a fair flower was thus reconciled to the hard necessity of wasting her fragrance on the desert air, that her little pittance, as a younger child, might go to enrich the often slenderly provided for heir, or more beautiful sister, whose charms promised a splendid alliance to the aggrandizement of the genealogical tree.

Several convents had already undergone what was called *reform* in the country; and it had not escaped the observation of the reflective that, as the culprits became after the operation meek, lowly, and poverty-stricken; so in exact proportion the parties who had been named executioners of the sentence grew proud, burly, and affluent. The brother-preachers had sensibly increased in wealth and importance since they inflicted the awards of the church on the sisters of the convent of Steinen (*Kloster zu den Steinen*) near the river Birse, who underwent signal castigation in

1423;* and as Klingenthal would cease to be a privileged refuge for the female branches of their families, if the monks succeeded in making good their present hold on its possessions, it was at length determined that a vigorous effort of united strength should be simultaneously employed to eject them. No ungenerous intentions or ungentlemanly feelings were avowed towards the prioress of Heaven's-gate: her refusal to unite with Anna Zergelten, though published as a most unpardonable aggravation of the wrongs and insults previously received, was not ascribed to her: she was spoken of, and possibly with truth, as a mere tool in the hands of the Dominican brothers, unable to oppose their designs; and, unhappily for herself and little community, without friends sufficiently powerful to assert her own will. They were themselves aware that open opposition to a papal bull was an enterprise of no small difficulty; and, but for one master-mind, they would probably never have dared to engage in it at all, suffering their wrath, as the safest course, to explode in groans rather than gunpowder:—that guiding genius was Count Oswald of Thierstein.

Some minds cannot exist without excitement; and Count Oswald's would appear to be of this complexion. Though now verging towards his sixtieth year, time

* 1423. Steinen-Kloster gereformiert. Zu Basel ward St. Maria Magdalenen Kloster, an den Steinen genannt, vom prediger Orden gereformiert, den Schwestern, &c.

had wrought small change in his impetuous nature. Since his futile attempt to make prisoners of the chief magistrates of Basle, no open rupture had ensued between them, but his feelings of dislike were green as in his boyhood. He had subsequently been in many bloody actions, sometimes waged for the common welfare of Switzerland, and ever with honour to himself; but his achievements were uniformly designed to maintain the rights, real or pretended, of all his royal masters; for turn in turn his loyal sword had been drawn at the command of the emperor, the archduke Sigismund, and René, duke of Lorraine. His distinguished bravery and skill, whilst fighting under, or rather directing, the young René, at the battles of Morat and Nancy, which terminated alike the pretensions and the life of the rash Charles of Burgundy, would have covered his name with immortal glory in the eyes of his compatriots, had he been defending the mother country as a patriot; but the hired agent of a crowned head found no grace in the sight of the republican Swiss, aware that his valorous arm would be withheld by no national scruples from falling on themselves, if so directed by his royal employers.* A

* At Morat the counts of Thierstein and Gruyères were valiantly repulsed by a duke of Somerset, whose genealogy is somewhat obscure, named (probably) Thomas. He was in the service of the duke of Burgundy, brother-in-law of Edward IV.; and had he not met his death soon afterwards in the heat of the

quarrel with the archduke Sigismund had deprived him of the office of *Bailli* of Alsace, but the important services rendered to René, duke of Lorraine, at the battle of Nancy, procured for him not less distinguished appointments in that kingdom. He was now marshal and bailli of Lorraine, where he generally resided, and he was there when the reformation of the nuns of Klingenthal took place. As he had no daughters, nor any very near relation then within its enclosure, he might not perhaps have troubled himself about a squabble between the brothers and sisters of a monastic order, had not his attention been drawn towards it by a letter from Bridgeda von Schweighausen, then also in Lorraine. She was one of the four nuns allowed to return to the paternal roof; and aware of his love of excitement and haughty temper, she worked so effectually on his feelings (good and bad) that he returned to his castle at Pffeffingen, fully disposed to make both the brother-preachers, and their abettors, the citizens of Basle, pay pretty smartly for their respective shares in the transaction.

Since the foundation of Klingenthal there had been

mêlée, the issue might have been very different. The duke fought at the head of a body of English and Flemings with distinguished skill and bravery. If he had survived that terrible day, his generous councils might also have spared his royal master the ineffaceable stains on his future career of cruelty and folly.—*Müller.*

many marriages between the houses of Thierstein and Klingen, or Klingenberg as it was now designated, from the family residence built on a steep eminence, after the destruction of the ancient castle by Rudolph in the Black Forest; and many aunts and great-aunts, and cousins-german, belonging to each illustrious race, had severally lived and died in the sacred seclusion of its cloisters. Bridgeda, with feminine tact, did not fail to remind him that the yoke of the brother-preachers had been removed from the galled necks of the injured sisterhood by the wisdom, spirit, and energy of the lady Anne of Thierstein, of blessed memory! his own father's sister, aided by the judicious assistance and advice of the late count John, his father, then protector of the council.* These well-timed reminiscences were not lost; but falling like good seed on a proper soil, sprung up and bore their fruits in due season. The marshal had never loved monks, and always abhorred citizens; the Dominicans, as a fraternity, were the particular objects of his antipathy, probably because he had in his childhood heard long stories of his aunt Anne's chagrins and contests with them, before she effected a separation; neither were they generally so popular with the higher as the middle classes of society at Basle: they were less supple, and

* Besides the lady Anne, two sisters, in the century preceding her, Elizabeth and Agnes of Thierstein, were successively prioresses.—*Würstisen*.

more bigoted than the Augustines, whose spacious monastery near the cathedral supplied half the nobility with learned and gentlemanly confessors.*

More than a year had elapsed, before Count Oswald gave in his adhesion to the cause of the female plaintiffs in this case, during which period, the prior of the brother-preachers, Leonhardo di Mansuetus, whose representations to the court of Rome procured the bull, died. He was an Italian by birth, and that

* This interesting building, vulgarly called "College of Erasmus," possibly because he might have occasionally superintended the course of academic studies, was, after the dissolution of that order at the Reformation, converted into a college for young Protestant students. It was on the eve of being demolished when the author of this sketch last quitted Basle: thus one by one every trace of the past is gradually being effaced from the noble old city which, so far back as the Crusades, was the rallying point whence great caravans of northern pilgrims set out together on those most profitless, yet romantic and spirit-stirring, expeditions. A painted statue of St. Augustine, looking most dismally grim and forlorn, as if lamenting the loss of his former associates, was still bending over a fountain in one of the dark courts, now open to the public, usually surrounded by half a score of pretty maidens gaily chatting whilst filling their pails of water, or cleaning the vegetables brought to wash in the monks' cistern close by.

In 1849 all had disappeared—antique college—St. Augustine—fountain—and maidens—and, as by the magic touch of a Fairy's wand, given place to a magnificent library and museum in the first freshness of erection.

circumstance had doubtless some influence over Sixtus IV., also a native of Italy, and known for his national as well as family attachments. The deceased prior was extremely hurried by the unexpected opposition raised up to the papal sentence; he never contemplated such a result, or he would perhaps have abstained from bringing on himself and brethren so much anxiety and obloquy. Accustomed to the implicit obedience rendered by Italian nuns to their spiritual directors—the rigid seclusion, the spare diet, the midnight vigils, naked feet, and absence of every temporal enjoyment imposed on the female professor of religious vows in his own country—he was shocked at the licence reigning at Klingenthal; and that sentiment, combined with a longing desire to repossess the government of the convent, had urged him to the course which he was believed to have subsequently regretted. If such were the case, his successor did not share his sentiments. He too was an Italian, a learned monk of Palermo, elected at Rome as soon as the demise of Leonardo di Mansuetus was known there, and he joined the fraternity he was appointed to govern, determined to support their rights and his own by every effort of mind and body. His burning temperament could on any occasion ill brook contradiction: and to be thwarted by a parcel of despicable women in his schemes for the aggrandizement of his community, was not to be thought of. But in

playing this important game, he was destined to find an adversary, whose wary prudence, German perseverance, and feminine acuteness, proved more than a match for the wiles and the artifices suggested by his southern sky.

Fear and hope are the passions which give the great stimulus to the human mind, and, when the former, by excess, *has not paralysed the intellect*, most especially excite it to action. Lashed into energy by the dread of falling, wholly defenceless into the power of implacable foes, whose former mitigated dominion had left so many bitter remembrances, the nuns, startled out of their lethargic security, roused themselves to ward off the danger; and as, in the great theatre of the world at seasons of extraordinary excitement, the weak and the wavering, the timid and the retiring, have often been found suddenly transformed in their very nature to meet the exigency of the moment, and under the excitement have displayed talents alike unsuspected by themselves and others, so at this critical epoch there was found in the little fear-harassed society of Klingenthal one of those gifted beings whose powers, but for this singular conflict, might for ever have been shrouded by her vestal veil.*

* Long after the secularization of Klingenthal, a series of portraits of the superiors is said to have adorned the walls of the parlour, then converted into a reception room for patients

At the commencement of this struggle between the ejected and the ejectors, Bridget of Schweighausen filled the responsible office of treasurer; and fewer personal improprieties were ascribed to her than to several of the other *religieuses*. She was said to be very beautiful, and though possibly educated from childhood in the convent, she had probably not been many years there as a cloistered nun, for all appertaining to her history seems to bespeak one who had lived in society, and whose understanding had been sharpened by its vivifying influence ere she took the final veil of the professed sister. What led to this immolation is hidden from posterity, but her vows were apparently voluntarily imposed, and willingly discharged, since she was the acknowledged friend of the prioress, and every action evinced her warm attachment to the Institution.

Encouraged by the success of her application to count Oswald, she pursued the path she had so happily seeking admission into the hospital. Those of the actors in this struggle were considered no doubt with more curiosity, and better remembered than the others. Portraits of the governors of religious institutions, at the epoch of their election, were usually taken. Pictures of the abbesses of a convent at Dinan in Brittany, also appropriated to the uses of an infirmary, might be seen in 1828; and some heads of monks brought from a suppressed monastery at Laon, a village about a mile off, were hanging in the parish church when the writer visited the ruins of Laon a few years ago.

chosen, and from her quiet unsuspected retreat, in one of the towns bordering on the Rhine, soon issued letter after letter to all the most influential personages composing the court of the emperor, the archduke Sigismund of Austria, and René, duke of Lorraine. Her innate abilities had been improved by education: she wrote elegantly in German and French, and gave such ingenious, and apparently ingenuous, explanations of all that required clearing up in convent annals,—so glossed over some accusations, and pared down the magnitude of others,—that their case and conduct soon took a different colour. Sigismund, archduke of Austria, prepared by the previous representations of the nobility to regard the nuns as very much slandered by plebeian tongues, always ready to speak evil of dignities, and the positive victims of a conspiracy on the side of the Dominican monks to wrest from them their riches, was soon induced from Bridget's letters to take a warm interest in their favour.* He

* “Ils attirèrent dans leur parti le duc Sigismond d'Autriche, et la plupart des villes des huit anciens Cantons.”—*Article 39, La Guerre des Nonnains*, p. 395. *Con. Suisse*.

It would seem, from a short history of Berkeley Castle, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1769, that treacherous arts were sometimes employed, even in England, to obtain the dissolution of female monastic establishments by barons ambitious of their broad lands. There is a curious account of a young nobleman of the Fitz-Hardinge family, who had been employed by his uncle, earl Godwin, to corrupt the nuns of a

was himself a man of talent and attainments, more shining perhaps than solid, but with a taste for literature, which led him early in life to cultivate the friendship of the wily, elegant, and learned *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, then secretary to the emperor, some of whose most magnificent and most delightful letters were addressed to him. So great indeed was the duke's admiration of the splendid acquirements of this gifted friend, so high the opinion he entertained of his persuasive eloquence, that he delegated to him the somewhat difficult and delicate task of concocting for his use a love-letter, which the *Bran- tomes* of the day declared was attended with the same success that, at a later period, crowned those written by the courtly secretary on his own account. His first wife was *Eleanor*, daughter of *James I.* of Scotland, who, like her hapless father, loved poetry and intellectual pursuits; and had translated from French into German a metrical romance. By *Sigismund*, therefore, the refined compositions of the dispossessed nun, pleading more for the honour than the rights of

neighbouring convent, that he might make their irregularities a pretence for the king to dissolve their foundation, expecting afterwards to obtain the reversion of their estates for himself.

This anecdote is recorded, without meaning to guarantee its authenticity, simply as a proof that unfair measures were supposed to be used occasionally in every country against cloisteral institutions, by those interested in their annihilation.

her community—for her companions rather than herself—were fully appreciated. Sigismund was also, by constitution, gallant, fond of the society of ladies, with whom, in his younger years, he had often danced in the public rooms at Basle, greatly to the displeasure of his cousin Frederick, whose temperament was so wholly different, that the opposite extremes of light and darkness might be employed to mark the distance in feeling between them. Influenced by these sentiments, Sigismund had, many years before, when scarcely more than of age, opposed with all his might the cardinal of Brixen, whose punishment of the erring sisters of Sonnem bourg in the Pusterthal,* has been censured as much too cruel by many contemporary and recent historians, while admitting, in some degree, the justice of the accusation. And now, in the autumn of his gay, careless, happy life, Sigismund was similarly disposed to espouse the cause of the weaker sex ; as reckless of the avenging sword of St. Peter as when it was drawn from its scabbard by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the facile talented composer of his boyish love-letters, then transformed into pope Pius II., which fell on his head in the shape of an excommu-

* The peasantry took up arms in their favour : the cardinal met the resistance of the nuns and their friends by refusing burial to the dead, and thus, after much bloodshed, gained his point. This affair was in 1450, about thirty years before that of Klingenthal.

nication, fulminated against him for his opposition, as lord of Brixen, to the harsh measures of the encroaching cardinal. "All the devils have brought the cardinal into the country,"* says Heimbourg: nevertheless Pius was determined to support the authority of the church, and in so doing, "felt it an imperious duty" to excommunicate his old friend and pupil. The papal apology presents a curious specimen of argument: "with great regret he thus sorely punished a prince of the glorious house of Austria—Nero did not tarnish the glory of the first Cæsar,—with intense sorrow of heart in recalling the better times of the archduke; but *he dare not now be Æneas*."† This is ingenious; but nothing in comparison to the reasoning he employed in defending the excommunication Pius launched against Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini himself! for having, when secretary to the council at Basle, written to vindicate that assembly. He "rejoices that he has lived to be elevated to the tiara, *because* it gave him the opportunity of expressing the abhorrence he entertained for the writings of Æneas, who had dared to impugn the authority of popes by supporting councils; and he excommunicated the said Æneas as imbued with the leaven of paganism in all things, even

* "Tous les diables out amené le cardinal dans le pays."—*Müller*.

† "Mais un devoir impérieux l'ordonne, il n'ose pas à présent être Enée."—*Ibid*.

in name! The sentiments and opinions of those in and out of power, popes as well as others, are not unfrequently widely asunder; but the lively, logical erudite Pius II. is the only instance on record of the head of the church solemnly excommunicating himself!

Sigismund too, like his former illustrious landvogt, count Oswald of Thierstein, entertained a most overwhelming aversion to burghers, and had, on many occasions, represented "the necessity of putting an end, *in time*, to the contagious audacity of the rebel peasants;"* thus designating the confederate Swiss and the wealthy citizens, when they (puffed up with growing importance) ventured to talk of their privileges. The famous enemy of all popular associations, count Henry of Werdenberg-Sargans, whose long life was passed in vain endeavours to crush the liberties of his country, and who attempted many years before to ruin the gray league of the burghers, by forming one amongst the nobility to neutralize their proceedings, denominated *black*, either from colour or hatred, which had a far more disastrous effect on his affairs than theirs, did not lose this opportunity of displaying his undying animosity to the civic authorities of Basle. It is very likely he still owed the loan advanced in his early youth by the convent of Klingenthal; and if so,

* "Sigismond représenta la nécessité de mettre, à temps, un terme à l'audace contagieuse des paysans rebelles."—*Müller*.

he joined the ranks against Basle with more show of propriety than on some former occasions. He was at an advanced age, but he appeared several times during the progress of the contest in hostile array, with his two sons, at the gates of the city, and thus added his name to the list of the avengers of innocence.

Whilst thus living coroneted heads, even more numerous than the crowned ghosts of Banquo, one by one appeared on the stage, to revive the hopes of the legitimate ex-nuns with visions of future greatness, all the interest they possessed was fruitlessly employed to win over to their side the impenetrable passionless soul of the emperor Frederick III. At an early age he became the guardian of Sigismund, the son of his brother Albert; and although there were ten years only between them, and he fulfilled his trust with both kingly and kinsmanly fidelity, no cordiality marked their future intercourse: their characters and pursuits were so diametrically opposed that intimacy was as impossible as union between the elements of fire and water. Frederick was of royal presence,—grave, dignified, decorous,—fond of quietude, and abhorring tumult or disturbance of any kind; disliking even dancing and music, as “noisy amusements.” “He was,” says an old writer, “able to control all his desires but that of avarice; and his discretion was so great, that he required a term of eleven weeks before he would decide to accept or refuse the proffered Im-

perial crown; whilst he rejected, almost in her very face, the offered hand of Margaret, the beautiful, accomplished, and amiable daughter of pope Felix V., with a magnificent dowry, on the simple ground that "it might be impolitic to connect himself with a pontiff not acknowledged by all parties in the state of Europe."* As he appeared not wholly insensible to the graces of a mind yet more distinguished than her person, he evinced a degree of discreet caution little to have been expected at twenty-five; and when, after a lapse of ten years, he finally made up his mind to marry a Portuguese princess, he lived with her ten more years of stormless, composed, frigid happiness; which, when ended, left him no wish to recommence with any other. He rose early, his habits were regular, and his amusements simple; he loved gardening, and after scrupulous attention to the duties of religion and the empire, passed his innocent hours in cultivating flowers with his own hands. Sigismund, on the contrary, adored pleasure in all its varied phases; and had often shocked the feelings of pride and sense of pro-

* Margaret, widow after a short union, of Louis of Anjou, titular king of Naples. She was still younger than Frederick by two or three years.

"Frederick did not marry Eleonora of Portugal till thirty-six years of age, and lived twenty-six a widower without his peaceful pleasures being disturbed by any fresh attachment."
—*Schöppfin*.

priety, so dominant in Frederick, by going through the streets of Vienna during the carnival, and on Ash Wednesday, disguised in costumes little befitting his illustrious rank. There was, in short, but one desire, one necessity common to both—the love and want of money.*

* Tschudi.—Amadeus VIII., ex-duke of Savoy, after his coronation in the cathedral of Basle as pope Felix V., there fixed his residence; and when the emperor came into Switzerland he spent three days with him at the palace. He, and his sons Amadeus, and the count de Maurienne, were most anxious that Frederick should strengthen the tiara, tottering on the brows of the former, by a family alliance; and his entertainment was of the most sumptuous nature. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini has drawn, with his usual felicity of expression, a beautiful portrait of the papal family. Felix is described as a noble majestic-looking old man of benevolent aspect, bright silver hair shading his broad forehead, surrounded by his two handsome young sons, and the lovely Margaret, like so many beautiful olive-plants gracefully adorning his table. But Frederick, less susceptible than his talented secretary, withstood the attractions of all; father, brothers, and sister. Louis of Anjou was nearly old enough to be Margaret's father; and the spiritual daughter of the pope is said to have consoled herself for the affront of Frederick's rejection, and consequent loss of the imperial crown, by the piquant observation that "one warm-hearted old man was worth a hundred cold-hearted coxcombs." A very interesting account of the reception of Felix, and the ceremony of his coronation in the cathedral of Basle, may be seen in the 7th Vol. of the "*Conservateur Suisse*," p. 144.

When the emperor was first applied to for the powerful aid of his countenance, he did not decline to read the eloquent statement of the controversy drawn up by Bridget of Schweighausen ; but his reply was laconic and characteristic : he saw no reason for interference ; and when subsequently solicited to espouse the contrary side, he returned the same answer. But as the contest grew hotter, his excessive caution dissolved under the warming influence of political considerations. Little inclined to be chivalric, or to defend any cause from which he derived no personal advantage, he would, possibly, have left the turbulent children of St. Dominic to fight out their quarrel, without feeling a particle of interest for the conquered or the conquerors, had not private considerations intervened to thaw his indifference. Historians have, indeed, accused him of enjoying alike the dissensions of friends and foes, as tending to their mutual weakness ; and have asserted, that his principle was, to leave the contending parties to glut their fury on each other till both were destroyed, when he stepped forward and seized on their spoils for the aggrandizement of his own house. It was at his command that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, then his private secretary, wrote to the king of France, desiring a body of Armagnacs, to put down the Swiss in 1444 ; and though, alarmed by the immense number poured, in consequence of that request, into the country, he remonstrated with Charles VII. on the subject, he

betrayed, on almost every occasion which called forth that dormant feeling, the antipathy of his family to the nation. But at this juncture he was guided by a wholly different policy from that which influenced duke Sigismund, with whom, as it continually happened, he was on no amicable terms ; and he at length determined to grant a favour to his "good citizens of Basle," whose gold, on one pretence or other, had often contributed to fill his always empty coffers, and whose friendship he knew was of far more worth to him than a legion of haughty necessitous barons.* It is only fair to his general reputation for justice to suggest, that he might have formed an unfavourable opinion of the conduct of the puns. Rigidly virtuous himself, and by nature inclined to suspicion, he had observed and condemned, even during his travels through the empire in the first year of his election, the perpetual proximity of monasteries of men and convents of women. His sensitive delicacy shrank from the very shadow of impropriety, and he possibly thought that

* Frederick had visited Basle in 1474, and then received a magnificent testimonial of civic loyalty in the shape of golden florins ; besides a sumptuous entertainment in the great square of St. Peter, given at his desire, under a superb oak tree, a wonder of nature, the bole being eight feet high, from which sprung ten huge tufted branches, supported by three ranges of wood work. He was accompanied by his son Maximilian, and the loyal reception they experienced was too recent to be effaced from his memory.

nuns and monks, like Cæsar's wife, ought to be above suspicion.*

At the close therefore of 1481 appeared an imperial proclamation, placing the nuns then occupying the convent of Klingenthal under the protection of the empire, forbidding evil-disposed persons from offering them insult or molestation, and enjoining all who owed allegiance to the convent, to render the same duly and faithfully to the aforesaid sisters on pain of royal displeasure.

This decisive step, which the emperor expected would have finished all further discussion, brought on the collision it was intended to avert. Frederick's known insensibility to disputes not likely to affect his interests, and the slowness of his resolves, arising from excessive prudence, which sometimes conveyed an

* At Frauenbroun, where the conduct of the nuns excited nearly as much scandal as that of the white ladies of Klingenthal, a delegate sent from the cardinal of Gourk having attempted a radical reform of the abuses complained of, the younger sisters, supported by their neighbour and friend the abbot of Frienisberg, resisted all his efforts; and after an obstinate contest of some duration, succeeded in establishing their independence of all control.

"A Frauenbroun, un délégué du cardinal de Gourk ayant voulu sérieusement entreprendre une réforme, les plus jeunes des sœurs, appuyées par leur voisin et leur ami, l'abbé de Frienisberg, résistèrent, et surent conserver le droit de rompre leur vœux à leur gré."—*Stettler*.

unfavourable estimate of his real abilities, had till now left both parties in doubt as to his final course, and kept each in check; but this proclamation having destroyed all expectation of future support from him, the leagued nobles addressed their suit to a powerful body, nearly always opposed to him, either openly or covertly—the Swiss confederation; and having succeeded in drawing over to their party the chiefs of the eight most ancient cantons, once in intimate relations with the house of Austria, they united in threatening the city of Basle with the whole weight of their wrath, if the disinherited nuns were not reinstalled without delay in their convent, and its treasures restored intact. Nor were they long in putting this measure into execution.

Albert, baron of Klingenthal, was deputed by his noble colleagues to open the war; and he lent himself to their wishes with all the fiery zeal of a gallant high-spirited youth, proud of the confidence reposed in him, and of his position as lineal representative of the pious and generous barons of Klingen, who had laid the foundation stones of two successive buildings named in their honour Klingenthal. He commenced his hostile mission by sending a menacing letter to the provincial of the Dominicans at Strasburg, the peaceable ill-fated Jacob of Stubach; announcing that “every monastery and monk of his order should have reason to rue the hour he had expelled the most injured and most vir-

tuous ladies of Klingenthal from their own domicile, if they were not restored to all their rights within one month." A second letter, on Saturday before Childermas Day, and a third shortly afterwards, forwarded by a special messenger, equally violent, gave the hapless citizens, to whom duplicates were duly sent, ample cause for apprehension and regret, since it was now utterly beyond their power to make the smallest alteration in the situation of either the nuns of Klingenthal, or those of Gebweiler. Sixtus IV. had authorised the ejection of the white ladies, and the fiery prior of the Dominicans vowed he would yield up the rights bestowed on his monastery but with his life. He had already despatched an embassy to the pope, conjuring him to sustain, by his unlimited power as chief of the Christian church, his own immutable decisions, and, under such conflicting circumstances, the citizens had no alternative.

For a short season there was a lull, such as often intervenes between the roar of opposing elements, as if to render the tumult of nature, her throes and mighty workings, and her internal struggles, more awful in their approaching outbreak. No news came from Rome; but the monks, keeping the comfortless secret to themselves, succour was daily anticipated; and the citizens were half in hope that the punishment of excommunication, darkly hinted at by the prior, might keep the fierce nobles in some little check.

Alas! for their present security, the disclaimer of papal sovereignty in the councils of Constance and Basle had been so effectual in its influence on the public mind, though not on the church, that the thunders of the Vatican were daily losing power over men's fears and consciences. One great revolution had already rolled forward its tide of innovation, and another was fast approaching. The Reformation, which had struggled on for nearly two centuries a feeble flickering flame—now faintly blazing at the martyr-stake of some victim whom it had lighted to his doom, then apparently extinguished under the crushing walls of the *franc-juges* of Germany—was now, aided by the recent glorious discovery of printing, slowly but gradually preparing the way for the freedom of thought which, in a few more years, was to deprive such instruments of terror of their former efficacy.*

* “On sait quelle redoutable autorité exerçait alors en Allemagne le tribunal secret de Westphalie, connu sous le nom de *Fehmgericht*. Elle s'étendait jusqu'en Suisse, et plus d'une fois sans doute le poignard vengeur d'un franc-juge frappa sa victime dans les sentiers solitaires de nos Alpes. Les empiétemens de ce tribunal sur les juridictions municipales se multiplièrent à tel point, qu'il se tint tout exprès un grand congrès à Bâle, au mois d'Août 1436, auquel assistèrent les députés de l'Autriche, ceux de quinze villes de la Suisse, et pour Fribourg l'avoyer Felga et Bérard Chausse. On y décida qu'on ferait d'énergiques réclama-

Things were in this state when, on a fine April morning, Albert of Klingenberg, holding an embroidered glove on the point of his lance, preceded by an herald at arms arrayed in his tabard of ceremony, and followed by several barons, each with a numerous retinue of armed attendants, entered by the gate of St. Alban's, rode through the city on a superb charger richly caparisoned, passed the long bridge between the two towns; and, halting before the portals of Klingenthal, declared war to the citizens of Basle and the order of Dominicans!—recrossed the bridge; and, on the great squares of the cathedral and Hôtel-de-ville, and in all the principal streets, repeated the same announcement of hostile intention.* This imposing pageant was soon succeeded by another, far more alarming to the poor Balois. Count Oswald of Thierstein, splendidly attired, wearing the ensignia of his various high offices, and surrounded by a numerous staff, made his most unwelcome appearance; and, after the customary usages when declaring war, swore "that he would maintain, on foot and on horseback, by his

tions auprès de l'évêque de Cologne, duc de Westphalie."—*Berchtold*, Vol. I, p. 267.

* The blue banner of Albert of Klingenberg bore a shield with a lion rampant, crowned; and two formidable battle-axes. But these threatening symbols excited far less fear than the gentle hind, placidly standing under a pine tree, which marked the approach of the proud Graf von Thierstein.

sword and by his voice, with and against all, the rightful cause of the most noble and most injured ladies, the white nuns of Klingenthal, thus iniquitously wronged and aspersed." Strong in the friendship of his young master René, duke of Lorraine, who largely inherited the amiable and chivalric qualities of his grandfather, the good René, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, who had (says an old chronicler) "more titles than acres, and more virtues than all put together," the count, utterly regardless of an autograph letter from the emperor forbidding him to interfere by any overt act of violence, laid under sequestration the property and revenues of all the natives of Basle, and all the Dominican confraternities in Alsace, Lorraine, and the districts of Switzerland belonging to the confederate cantons leagued with the nobles. This spirited opening of the campaign against monks and burghers was followed up on the part of the marshal with a degree of energy and perseverance that in later times would have insured him, not only his *bâton* from the modern hero whose own promptitude won his way to half the kingdoms of the civilized world, but a crown for his brows, and a sceptre for his hands.

During these stirring events, the white ladies and their adversaries made unceasing efforts to determine, each in their favour, the cautious or the indifferent, who might not yet have made up their minds to step out of safe neutrality. The prioress, Anna Zergelten,

and her intellectual friend, Bridget of Schweighausen, occasionally glided through the streets of Basle, dressed in the strict costume of their rule, the very personification of piety and purity, and ever in company with ladies of high rank and spotless reputation, the wives and sisters of the belligerent nobles.* A

* It has been said that "Every woe a tear can claim, except an erring sister's fame," and perhaps where guilt has been positively established there may be truth in the assertion! for woman naturally feels herself debased by the existence of crime in her own sex; but it would be found on close investigation that whilst a lingering doubt as to the culpability of the accused really remains, feminine sufferers will ever find some gentle female consolers and supporters. Generosity towards the weak, compassion for the afflicted, pity for the oppressed, it may be the influence to a certain degree of the same *personal* sentiment which incites to indignation against the convicted culprit, but above all an honest feeling in every virtuous breast prompting the doubt that woman can so forget herself and relinquish her birthright of purity, has ever raised up hosts of friends amongst their own sex for the sorrowful, the suspected, and the persecuted. The tide of sympathy for the exemplary Katherine of Arragon, when her waning charms excited the *religious scruples* of the brutal Henry, flowed again for the sadder fate of her hapless successor Anne Boleyn, known by contemporary evidence not to have alienated him from Katherine; since, amongst other proofs, Henry's infidelity was of such distant date that his illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, though very young, was still old enough to preside at her execution, when too great zeal for the Reformation on the one side, and the influence of the Seymour family on the other,

short succinct statement of their case, no doubt emanating from the pen of the accomplished Bridget, found

had at length built up the scaffold and whetted the axe for the victim.

Her blood washed away the light stains imprinted on her character by a continental education, and the error into which the royal tyrant (when love was extinguished in her bosom by the forced abandonment of Percy) led her by the tempting offer of a crown *long tottering* on the brows of Katherine. She expiated her offence with her life, and fell but to rise. Her beautiful dirge, the breathings of a pure mind in the presence of a violent death, before which the stoutest hearts have quailed, became the popular vehicle of pity for her fate at the period. The remorse expressed by her ruthless murderer on his death-bed, attested by authority never impugned, that of a disinterested Franciscan monk, stamped her and her bright phalanx of friends and relatives—Surrey “of the deathless song,” the graceful, talented, witty Wyatt, the accomplished Rochford, the true-hearted Margaret Lee—with the seal of innocence; whilst her name, associated with that of Sir Thomas More, who had the same doom meted from the same monster hand, and whose playful spirit, like her own, could sport with death without levity, will live while language exists, in the exquisite lines of one not too prone to eulogize:—

“Strange though it seem—yet with extremest grief
Is link’d a mirth—it doth not bring relief—
That playfulness of sorrow ne’er beguiles,
And smiles in bitterness—but still it smiles;
And sometimes with the *wisest* and the *best*,
Till even the scaffold echoes with their jest.”

“In Sir Thomas More for instance, on the scaffold, and Anne

its way into the houses of all who could read writing ; and, it is said (for none of these refined feminine missives are believed to be now in existence) that they were singularly adapted to the furtherance of their design. The injustice of the monks was set forth, not in violent expressions of anger or resentment, but rather shadowed forth in the light touches of womanly sorrow, the artless unpremeditated language of feeling, under accusations wounding to female delicacy. The re-establishment of their *unsullied* honour, rather than the *repossession* of their forfeited rights, appeared

Boleyn in the Tower, when, grasping her neck, she remarked, that it 'was too slender to trouble the headsman much.'—*Lord Byron.*

At a later period of our national history many a virtuous matron and gentle maiden gave her suffrage in favour of the thoughtless consort of a negligent husband, who would have shrunk with instinctive delicacy from the heedless course of that unhappy queen, because looking back to her early injuries, and doubtful of the motives which prompted her impeachment, they generously determined not to crush the bruised reed weighed down by unproved accusations. Such was the tendency of feminine opinion on the subject of the war now raging between the monks and nuns of Klingenthal; and a general impression that they were aspersed to a *certain degree* has descended to posterity. A dislike to "*monkery*," so forcibly expressed by Erasmus some fifty years later, gradually prevailed after this struggle at Basle; and the "*beetles*," as he termed the male members of monastic orders, were there suppressed without difficulty at the very dawn of the Reformation.

the main object sought: and the faded countenance of the prioress, whose health was evidently declining under this "cruel persecution," stamped, as with the seal of truth, the eloquent defence of her reign at Klingenthal.

The prior, Salvius Cassetus, also issued a warm and most learned vindication of the motives of his predecessor, Leonardus di Mansuetus, in instituting an inquiry into the conduct of the former proprietors of Klingenthal, with an equally erudite exposition of the line subsequently followed by himself. But this appeal to public opinion was immeasurably distanced in popularity and effect by that of his fair rival. Bridget von Schweighausen's unimpassioned appeals were written in German, the dialect of the country, and in French, then, as now, the language of courts; and made especially familiar to all the higher classes of society at that period by their intercourse with France, and the use of mercenary troops, who were habituated to serve in any country wanting their aid, and to whom French was the common link of adhesion between them and their foreign employers. Salvius Cassetus was not only an Italian, but had been educated in Italy, and resident at Palermo, when appointed prior of the preaching-brothers at Basle. He had not been long enough in Swabia to acquire sufficient insight into its guttural tongue, so entirely the reverse of the musical measures and

harmonious sounds of his native country; and he, perhaps, knew equally little of French. His elaborate apology was in Latin, of which the barons and burghers were nearly equally ignorant; for, although the ritual of the Romish church, papal bulls, and public deeds were in Latin, so slight was the knowledge required from the laity, that a sound classical education was rarely bestowed on the nobility. Even had education been carried to a higher point, it is probable the monk would have gained few partisans by this laboured composition, for effusions springing from the heart, clothed in the familiar idioms and graces of the vernacular tongue, touch feelings which would remain cold or dead to the more learned productions of a Porson or a Parr. By his compeers the choice Latinity of the Italian friar was doubtless fully appreciated, without perhaps materially assisting the cause; for probably every abbot, prior, priest, and monk, was secretly, if not openly, already enlisted in his favour, from the influence of that *esprit de corps* over the mind which is so remarkable in every profession, and so entirely unsuspected by the individuals it governs.*

* "It is horrible to think," says an old German monkish writer (alluding to the skirmish at Klingenthal), "horrible to think, that these holy men, in the just exercise of a righteous duty, run the risk of being pierced to death by the spits and spindles of enraged women" (*frauen*). In his disdain of the

"The discord between the *noblesse* and the *bourgeoisie* of Basle," says an old writer, "had, from the earliest period, divided the two classes, as the Rhine separates the city itself." So far back as the thirteenth century, Rudolph of Habsburg was besieging Basle, as the representative of the patrician body, when called upon to assume the imperial purple; the nobility having formed a society named the "Star," to watch over their interests, the citizens got up another, called the "Parrot," to protect theirs; and a squabble having ensued, the "Parrot" was strong enough, for the time, to extinguish the light of the "Star" by turning the nobles out of the walls. A century later there was war in the streets between the rival powers, and it would seem as if this new struggle were the re-opening of a second Pandora's box, and that wrongs, long buried at the bottom, rushed out to unite their bitter remembrances with recent injuries. The nobles called to mind that, forty years before, the citizens had destroyed many neighbouring châteaux,* and driven

unfeminine aggressors, he will not even bestow on them their unquestionable title of (*klosterfrauen*) nuns.

* In 1445, Basle, with the help of her confederates, Berne and Soleure, dismantled, amongst others, the castle of Rheinfelden, the residence of the former counts of that name, from whom descended Rodolph, rival of Henry IV., emperor of Germany. An account of this struggle will be found in the "Abbots' War."

their patrician townsmen, by a unanimous vote, from the city, whilst the burghers spoke openly and with not less rancour of the "bloody carnival."*

* In 1375 Leopold of Austria purchased the town of Little Basle from the bishop, John of Vienna, always in want of money, for thirty thousand German florins, to the extreme concern of the inhabitants of the city, who beheld, with an unquiet eye, this their natural faubourg in the hands of a powerful prince, born their hereditary enemy, however interest or policy might stifle for a while any open display of animosity. Leopold, on the contrary, charmed with his purchase repaired there during the carnival of 1376, and held a tournament, to which he invited all the young nobles of the neighbourhood. Nothing interrupted the pleasures of this chivalric display, nor the sumptuous entertainment which followed, till, heated with wine, they thought proper to cross the bridge, and chose, for the theatre of several patrician sports, the great square of the cathedral. Some of the citizens, accompanied by their wives and daughters, having been tempted by curiosity to witness the spectacle, met with opprobrious treatment, and as an elderly man was preparing to depart with his pretty young daughter, one of these imprudent chevaliers offered her a rude personal insult. The common people, exasperated at this offence, rose in a body, and fell simultaneously on the nobles, forced the greater part of them to retreat precipitately into the Hôtel d'Eptingen, not far off, and compelled the others to fly. With the reckless fury of an exasperated mob, they next forced open the doors of the hotel, and would probably have massacred the whole party, had not the burgomaster, Peter of Lauffen, with great judgment and presence of mind, ordered them all to be made prisoners, and then, with a strong escort, conducted to the city prison as

In the mean time, as Jacob of Stubach did not turn out the nuns of Himmel-porten, that the white ladies might come in, the war went on. Foresight, prudence, and perseverance will ever command, to a certain degree, the success of any undertaking, yet, in the common occurrences of life, a mysterious

violators of public decency and order. This stratagem perhaps alone saved their lives, for even Leopold escaped with difficulty, and some young knights, who had succeeded in reaching the houses of their mistresses, were snatched from under the beds and great wardrobes where they had taken refuge, to be conveyed for incarceration within the safer walls of a temporary dungeon. The count of Friburg leaped into the fosses of the city, and the baron of Hassenburg was taken, nearly dead, in a conduit into which he had jumped for concealment. The duke, furious at this affront, determined to take ample vengeance; but, as his friends were hostages in the city, and soon weary of their confinement, though treated with great attention and respect, he was obliged to come to an accommodation, and it was agreed to forget all past injuries; but it cost the heads of some of the citizens, and others were exiled, to turn away the storm. The counts of Habsburg, of Montfort, and many others, then returned to their châteaux, having received a lesson of prudence never to take liberties with the daughters of republicans under the eyes of their fathers, brothers, and lovers; but at the same time this lesson augmented their hatred to the plebeian inhabitants of Basle.—*Con. Suisse*, Tome II, p. 102.

“Lettre sur les anciens tournois de la Suisse.” Some Latin verses have also perpetuated this curious entry in the annals of Basle.— * * * * “Idem comes additus olim Lupoldo Austriacæ nato de stirpe secunda,” &c.—*Con. Suisse*, Tome II, p. 471.

combination of events, over which no control can be maintained, frequently throws a strange influence for good or for evil over human affairs.

Fairs were not then, as now, the resort rather of idleness and amusement than serious occupation,—they were assemblies met to transact business,—they formed the link between distant countries, united together men of all classes and all professions. The merchant citizens then provided themselves with whatever they might need during the ensuing year: a wedding was, not unfrequently, delayed that the lovely bride and *preux chevalier* might appear with becoming elegance and splendour at the hymeneal altar: the fond mother saw her growing olive-branches bursting out of their seemingly diminished garments, without the power of doing more than add here and there something to the shortened petticoats and sleeves, and shrunken hose of the family, till the annual period of renewed change and renovation. The prudent manager hoarded her little store of spices, and all things that belong to housewives, that she might not be obliged to add to her stock the old and dearer articles remaining in the shops of the small traders. The man of letters panted for the possession of some new work pledged to appear at this season, and the young scholar not less impatiently expected books to assist him in his further progress; whilst whole armies of children and domestics of both sexes, eagerly watched

for the time which was to bring them the reward promised for the past year's good behaviour. All private individuals in fine, to whom travelling was almost unknown, contemplated with anxiety and pleasure the return of the adventurous mortals who dared to brave the dangers attendant on a visit to a great fair; for there were still many dangers to apprehend from freebooters in solitary pathways, bad roads, and wretched inns; and prudent travellers generally went together in small bodies of six, seven or more, strongly armed for mutual help. At this inauspicious period the fair of Frankfort on the Maine* was, perhaps, the most

* This celebrated fair sometimes drew together upwards of a hundred thousand persons. Merchants from every southern land—France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Greece, and Barbary—brought their dried fruits, figs, dates, olives, oranges, oils and spices, silks, velvets, and fine linens, in exchange for the gold and more solid produce of the north. A shadow of this motley scene may still be witnessed at Beaucaire, in Provence, the cradle of the old provincial troubadours, and at the fair of the Guibray, in Normandy.

The popularity of the Frankfort fairs, at even a much later period, is attested by the fact that a regular catalogue of all new books was printed every year expressly for this assembly. Nor was Basle much below Frankfort in literary importance;* the

* Basle was one of the first cities which received the new art of typography. Two brothers, of Spanish birth, Anthony and Michael Gallizion, so called from Galicia, their native province,

renowned in Europe—its free port opening a safe entry to the natives and produce of all lands; and the consternation of the inhabitants of Basle may be imagined on learning that the emissaries of the marshal had arrested, party by party, all their merchants on the way to Frankfort, and thrown them into strong fortresses within his jurisdiction, whither he sent also, whenever he could seize upon them, all the brother-preachers; awarding to the latter the additional punishment of bread and water: whilst Albert of Klingenberg threatened bloody reprisals if any of the patrician party

learned Henry Bullinger, pastor of Zurich, the correspondent of lady Jane Grey, counselling, at his request, the rector of the college of Coire on the mode of writing history, says, "At the approaching fair the German chronicle of Würstisen, upon the city and canton of Basle, is to appear; it will communicate many facts till now unknown, for he has read immensely to compose this chronicle." Christopher Würstisen was born at Basle exactly fifty years after the termination of the "Nuns' War." He early displayed a taste for antiquarian research, and began collecting materials for his chronicle when scarcely of age. He died soon after its publication. He was the author and editor of many other works, none of which, unfortunately, have ever been translated from the German.

established paper-mills soon after the wonders of the press were fully known. It is scarcely necessary to allude to the fame of Froben, the printer and friend of Erasmus.

or their followers fell in the skirmishes between them and the citizens.*

Though count Oswald's previous conduct might have led them to expect any act of violence likely to promote his views, they appear, from their grief and terror, to have been unsuspecting of this. Sequestration of property, however inconvenient to the sufferers, was felt to be a minor evil in comparison to so outrageous an attack on the personal liberty of men engaged in commercial enterprises, absolutely essential to the wants and comforts of every individual. Fear and indignation pervaded all minds at an aggression by which thousands were so harshly visited for the offence offered by a few only; and from one end of Basle to the other it was the subject of universal lamentation. This proof of the count's displeasure proved but the prelude to others yet more alarming. Small bands of light flying troops surrounded at intervals the battlemented walls, stopped at the numerous gates the provisions brought by the peasantry, killed some men at the advanced posts; and, by their battle-shouts and fierce brutal demeanour, spread such terror that the panic-stricken people dared not move a foot outside of the fortifications, even to visit their pretty little gardens and summer-houses, without a strong escort.

Habituated to the warfare of Italy and Germany, where the walled city was as frequently carried by stra-

* Anshelm.

tagem as by storm; remembering the count's former exploits, and ignorant of what such a man might attempt, the garrison was doubled, the citizens turned out to exercise; and, without making a very formidable show, "looked" (records a conscientious chronicler, with an adherence to caution really edifying,) "brave enough at times." Private houses began to be fortified, the harassed inhabitants were perpetually hurrying towards the ramparts to watch the approach of the soldiery; and when they caught a sight of the count or his myrmidons scouring past, would descend, crying out, as they ran through the streets, "Beware! beware! the wild beast is loose!" alluding to the banner of the counts of Thierstein, which bore a golden hind on a field of silver.* Old enmities revived with ten-

* "Prenez garde, la bête est lachée."—*Con. Suisse*. Art. 39, p. 396.

The counts of Thierstein had many *châteaux*; some they inhabited themselves, others were confided to the guard of noble squires, and in times of extreme danger they always withdrew into the inaccessible fortress of their family cradle, embosomed in the midst of the pines and precipices of the Jura, called the "Lair of the Hind," in allusion to the gentle animal which so inappropriately formed the decoration of their valiant banner of blood-red silk, embroidered with gold and silver, ever proudly floating through the countless wars of the middle ages, in Helvetia, followed by long trains of armed vassals and the more dreaded foreign ruffians in their pay.—*Con. Suisse*, Tome VIII, p. 230.

fold vigour, and soon a civil war, within the bosom of the miserable city, threatened to fill up the climax of consternation and woe. The resident nobility, who had cautiously abstained from taking a prominent part in the war, but were suspected of not disapproving, in their hearts, the count's measures, were in some danger of experiencing insult and injury from the populace, whilst they ran the same risk of starvation. To cut off the hands of the peasantry who brought provisions to a town it was wished to reduce by famine, was formerly no uncommon punishment inflicted by besiegers ; all acts tending to bring about a desired end being considered justifiable in a barbarous age ; and the country people dreading what so unscrupulous a foe as the count might be led to do, grew gradually more averse to run any risk of personal mutilation for the sake of a little pecuniary profit.

In addition to these domestic calamities, the troops of the emperor, at length tardily sent to protect the high roads, had, on several points of meeting, come to blows with those of the marshal ; and the mutual exasperation of these two opposing military corps, if not repressed by timely dismissal, it required little sagacity to foresee, might lead to the most serious consequences to the country at large. It was impossible that this state of lawless violence could be allowed to continue ; the nobility within the walls, compromised like society at large by this struggle for ascendancy, at

length insisted that their brethren without should put a speedy termination to the quarrel; and the monks themselves were finally, though very reluctantly, brought to consent to listen to some accommodation.* They had, in short, obtained the discouraging certitude, that a secret embassy to Rome, emanating from the enemy's camp, had neutralized theirs; and that Sixtus, finally influenced by the same personal motives of self-interest which impelled the emperor Frederick to protect the nuns of Himmel-porten, was inclined to patronize their rivals of Klingenthal. Gold was his idol: he had just succeeded in establishing the Inquisition in Spain, a mine from which he was already drawing vast sums of pure ore, worked out by the fears of the living, and the confiscations of the dead; and he had no desire to render himself more unpopular in the Swiss cantons, with whom he had, a few years previously, some disagreements, lest, if pushed beyond their republican sense of endurance, they might throw off his yoke as they and formerly done that of the house of Austria.

Many fruitless negotiations were commenced and abandoned during a further truce entered into between

* Dieser Vertrag ward Samstags vor Galli im 1482 beschlossen und durch Bischoff Caspar zu Basel, Calvium Cassetum, Jakob von Stubach, Hermann Truchsess von Rheinfelden, Ritter, Statthalter, und Hans Waldmann, Ritter, Burgermeister zu Zurich in Namen gemeiner Eidgenossen besiegelt.—*Wurstisen*.

the belligerents for six months, signed by Jacob von Bodmin, knight, and Henry von Hasfurt, knight, and former bailli of Lucerne, with the other contracting parties, by which it was agreed that the nuns of Klingenthal should each receive a German florin a-week, till something more definitive could be arranged, without their acceptance of that sum being considered any relinquishment of their claims, principally because the barons, encouraged by dawning success, urged with obstinate pride their pretensions to the very utmost extremity of unreasonableness.* At length the exhausted patience of the country demanded a speedy settlement of this onerous discussion; and as the emperor, with his habitual excessive caution, refused to arbitrate or even give an opinion on the subject, it was agreed that *eine Botschaft* or solemn commission, should be sent to Rome, praying his Holiness to be pleased to terminate the difference which had arisen, according to his wisdom. Sixtus IV. did not decline the exercise of his talents and authority once more on this difficult question; nor had he the weakness which sometimes makes men ashamed of acknowledging a former error of judgment. Perhaps, too, the circumstances of his own private life pressing on his memory at last, might induce him not to bear so harshly as at first,

* "Noch hatte," says Würstisen, "*dieser Krieg sein Ende nicht erreicht.*"

on these frail infringers of monastic discipline. He immediately appointed * one of his legates, Angelo, bishop of Sessa, an Italian prelate devoted to his will, the bishop of Basle, the prior of Aiguemorte, a small town of France in Lower Languedoc, and Anthony, abbot of Toden-Wasser, with some others, to act for him, and, very early in the month of October, 1483, at Neuchâtel on the Rhine, the mission of peace was opened. "In that place appeared," says Würstisen, "the bishops of Sessa and Basle, Jacob of Stubach, provincial in Germany, Salvius Casseti, the general of the Dominican order from Palermo, the prior of the Dominicans at Basle, the prévôt of the Dominicans of Feldspach in the Sundgau, the abbot of Toden-Wasser, the deputies of the Swiss cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg, Soleure, Berne, Uri, and Schwytz, accompanied by their allies, an ambassador from Sigismund, duke of Austria, the *élite* of the Helvetian and Swabian nobility, with many doctors in theology, and learned advocates, sent by the parties at issue to defend their respective claims.†

Many long and stormy debates between the arbi-

* *Pabstliche Commissarien den Nonnenkrieg zu richten.*

† John Waldmann Knight and the old burgomaster, Gerold Meyer, of Kronan, for Zurich; Doctor Thuring Frickard, chancellor, for Berne; the chevalier Gaspard, of Hertenstein, for Lucerne; Walter Inder Gassen, landammann, for Uri; Dietrich

trators and this host of champions for either side ensued. The barons would not abate an iota of their pretensions, and the patience of Jacob von Stubach, certainly much tried, appears to have been at length exhausted by the insolent attacks so continually directed against him, in the execution of the no sinecure office bestowed upon him by the pope,—the immense personal trouble to which he had been subject during three years of incessant worry of mind, and the prospect of the approaching triumph of the nuns. He was clearly not “the meekest of men,” and he felt perhaps a vague suspicion gnawing at his heart, that he had been outwitted by the superior generalship of his female antagonists; than which there cannot be a more irritating sensation to a proud spirit and lofty intellect.

At length an impression of imperative necessity impelled them all to unite in an agreement, of which the substance was, “that the nuns of Himmel-porten, brought so inopportunately to Klingenthal, should forthwith evacuate the premises, and return to the place

Ander Halden, for Schwytz; John of Flue, for Underwald; John Schell Ammann, for Zug; Dietrich of Englisberg, for Fribourg; the chancellor, John of Stall, for Soleure. Glaris, one of the eight primitive cantons, does not appear to have united with the other seven. Soleure joined the eight primitive cantons at the request of count Oswald.—*Würstisen's Great Chronicle of Basle.*

from whence they came,—that the exiles should be most honourably re-installed in their ancient dwelling on the single condition of a promise to lead lives less liable to suspicion for the future,—that all which had been sequestered should be faithfully restored,*—that they should be uncontrolled mistresses of their own convent at Klingenthal, exempt from interference or inspection *of any kind* from bishops or Dominicans,—that they were at liberty to choose their own avoyer, investing him with such powers as they only might be pleased to confer,—that they owed no subjection but to the see of Rome, between whom and them there was to be no intermediate agent; but nevertheless, in case of urgent need of assistance, from whatever cause, they had a right to claim, if they desired it, the prompt protection of the *prévot* of the Dominican monastery at Feldspach in the Sundgau. To consolidate this treaty, it was required that the monks and nuns should christianly agree to forget the past, and live, for the future, as members of the same religious order, good friends and peaceable neighbours.

Such were the stipulations agreed upon by this learned assembly; and it cannot be denied that they were drawn up in a very conciliatory spirit towards the fair sex; for the brother-preachers, besides these

* *Gütern, Kleinotern, (Kleinodien) Briefen, Güllen und Einkommen.*

immense concessions to their female adversaries, were adjudged to pay eleven thousand five hundred Rhenish guldens or florins, as a reparation for the injury done to the fair fame of the complainants and the expenses they had incurred in defending it ; in addition to the sum of one florin a-week each, which had already been granted them at the period of the first, or rather second truce, till the contest should come to a final settlement ; so important did it appear that the ladies of Klingenthal should have no further cause of dissatisfaction. The stipulations also were worded with small attention to those feelings of honour and probity which might have been supposed to exist in the bosom of holy men : they were required to give up all the goods, jewels, writings, and guldens left in their care, without demurring, intact ; and *if they had* kept anything back, to make *honest* restitution on demand.*

After this happy termination of the war between the Dominicans and Balois, on the one part, and the aggrieved ladies and their patrician connexions on the other, a command to cease from all hostilities, release prisoners, and exonerate from their obligations those who were at large on *parole d'honneur* was immediately issued by the commissioners, on the guarantee of the eight Swiss cantons, and the archduke Sigismund

* *Kloster-frauen kriegen den Sieg.* The nuns carry the day.
— *Würsteisen.*

The next decisive step, taken after the ratification of this peace, was to send away the meek maidens of Heaven's-gate, of whom little more is recorded in the page of history than that "they came and saw," but did not, like Cæsar, conquer." They were introduced to the Balois as reformed, and certainly the reformation must have been very effectual, for their exemplary submission to their Dominican brethren presents a most striking contrast to the conduct of their rebellious sisters. Whether they left Heaven's-gate with regret or delight,—whether they returned to it with pleasure or repugnance,—who they were or what they were,—all is unknown concerning them, excepting that they were heard chanting matins and vespers, litanies and canticles, from morning to night, in the deserted convent church; and were believed to be obedient, not only to their rule, but their rulers.* Soon after their unostentatious departure from Basle, so early in the morning that it was known only to the lieutenant and warder of the port St. Jean, through which they passed once more on their retrograde journey to the bleak mountains of Alsace, leaving the six nuns who had joined them (whether as friends or foes was never clearly ascertained, certain only it is that they were not subsequently treated as deserters,) to prepare for the reception of the sisters from whom they had

* They were expressly enjoined to take away *nothing* but their own goods and chattels. *Haabk* (*Habe und gut*).

been so long estranged, the ladies of Klingenthal, born under a more auspicious planet, assembled at a neighbouring castle ; and, from thence, on the third Sunday of October, 1483, after vespers to give the utmost publicity to their victory, made a solemn entrance, like so many deposed queens returning triumphantly into their rightful kingdom. They were escorted by a host of cavaliers, their relations or friends, whose proud deportment and princely attire, as, attended by a long train of retainers and servants bearing banners, they rode fiercely through the streets of the humbled city, presented altogether a splendid military pageant, rather than the pious procession of penitent nuns brought back by mercy from punishment. Little Basle, ever at variance with its opposite neighbour, sent out a multifarious crowd of men, women, and children, whose noisy acclamations of welcome, as they met the magnificent *cortège* at their end of the long old bridge, evinced that the sparing expenditure of the sober sisterhood of Heaven's-gate, despite their subdued saintly walk, was far less agreeable to their taste, than the lavish profusion of these high-born worldly culprits.*

* Sitôt après la signature du traité et de la garantie Helvétique, les nonnes exilées se réunirent et rentrèrent en triomphe dans leur couvent du Klingenthal : elles étaient escortées par une foule de chevaliers, leurs parens ou leurs amis, qui traversant fierement à leur suite les rues de Basle, firent de ce cortège

Of the future fate of the poor nuns of Gebwyler, nothing is revealed in the annals of Basle; but the recorded history of those concerned in this contest presents many striking facts corroborative of the physiological doctrine of the injurious influence of the mental passions, grief, anxiety, and suspense, upon the human frame. Leonhardus di Mansuetus, who began the struggle for pre-eminence and power early in 1480, died at the close of the same year. Salvius Cassetus survived this heavy blow to the wealth and honour of the confraternity he so ardently desired to aggrandize, a few months only,—he died broken-hearted. His successor, Bartholomy de Com-

une procession plus militaire que pieuse.—*Histoire de la Confédération Suisse.*

Motives of expediency (often certainly found to be the strongest of any) on the part of the Diet and Pope, are assigned as having led to this brilliant feminine contest. The Diet, convinced of the impossibility of reforming such a community against their will, would not run the risk of attempting it; and papal prudence dictated the same line of conduct. Sixtus IV. had successfully supported a long struggle against Spain, Italy, and France, but a wrestle with obstinate nuns was below his dignity.

La diète, convaincue de la difficulté de réformer un semblable couvent contre son gré, n'en voulut pas courir les risques.—Elle convainquit sans peine la prudence du pape. Il eut soutenu la lutte contre l'Espagne, l'Italie, la France, mais une lutte contre des religieuses opiniâtres paraissait peu digne de lui.—*Confédération Suisse*, vol. viii. p. 245.

matus, elected to the government of an impoverished and care-worn community, with difficulty advanced the indemnification to the nuns, and discharged the other heavy expenses entailed by so many profitless embassies to Rome, ere he also paid the debt of nature; and his successor, a native of Venice, held this seemingly dangerous dignity twelve months only. From 1480 to 1487 died four priors!

Death, too, stalked in the cloisters of the conquerors as well as the conquered! Anna Zergelten outlived her victory but a brief space after her rival, the prior Salvius Cassetus, had departed to the land "where all things are forgotten,"—the earth closed over both the same year. Her successor was Bridget of Schweighausen, unanimously elected by the grateful and affectionate sisters, whose cause she had conducted with so much skilfulness and kindness. The bruised spirit of Cassetus was spared, by his early death, one pang which perhaps he would have felt the most poignant of all. Four months afterwards a papal bull from Sixtus IV., dated the 31st of May, 1484, raised the talented prioress of Klingenthal into the far higher rank of abbess, with the rights and title of countess of the Holy Roman empire! A chapter, immediately convened, decreed that the new abbess elect should be installed with unusual pomp and ceremony into her splendid position; and even yet the magnificence

attending the investiture of the first abess of Klingenthal is traditionally preserved at Baale, with the more authentic record of the sumptuous coronation of Pope Felix V.

Great was the amazement of the citizens on beholding so many honours showered down on the heads they had unadvisedly endeavoured to debase. Influence of no common nature must undoubtedly have been exerted to obtain a triumph so complete that, in defiance of evident improprieties of conduct, the nuns not merely escaped all censure, but were endowed with extraordinary privileges,—enriched and ennobled !

At the close of the congress held at Neuchâtel in the Brigau, the pope's commissioners stipulated for him the present of a *Rock*, or priest's petticoat, every year, from the ladies of Klingenthal ; and there is no doubt that Bridget von Schweighausen took care that this important addition to the papal dress was befitting his dignity and their gratitude. Her sudden elevation, however, to a rank so distinguished in the hierarchy, was probably not obtained by the mere gift of a *rochet*, however superb ; and the character of Sixtus, known to be a skilful alchemist, turning almost all he touched into precious metals, may well authorize the supposition that the *bull*, which created an abess of Klingenthal, had been a *golden* one to him.

A brief entry in Würstisen's chronicle, may not inappropriately close this recital of earthly passions, existing even where they might have been supposed to lie dormant. "*Die erste Aebtissin ward Brigeda von Schweighausen starb im 1485 Yahr ;*" "The first abbess Bridget of Schweighausen ; she died in 1485," the year after her election ! What a lesson to the ambitious and the lowly—the victorious abbess enjoyed her conquest, her honours, and her popularity, one short year !

Of the other distinguished personages who figured in this memorable war, the pope died, (not without suspicion of poison,) on the 13th of August, 1484, six weeks after the bull which raised Bridget von Schweighausen to the dignity of abbess ; and the valiant arm of Count Oswald of Thierstein was not long afterwards arrested by a foe to whom even he could offer no resistance—the great conqueror of all—Death, in 1487. This ancient dynasty, whose domains now form part of the cantons of Basle, Berne, and Soleure, was finally extinguished in the person of Count Henry V, who died poor in 1519, after having been in the service of France. Albert of Klingenberg, perhaps one of the last actors in this half tragedy, half comedy, attained to considerable longevity ; but his race did not exist many years after that of Thierstein, with whom it had been so many years united by family ties and private friendship.

He, too, died, shorn of the ancient riches, if not honours, of his house, and appears, towards the close of life, to have been equally warm as at its beginning in his espousal of individual interests, which eventually tinged his latter days with grief and anxiety. When Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, was banished from his kingdom, in 1500, in consequence of his violent quarrels, private and public; he came into Switzerland, and there, at first, played the amiable so successfully, that Albert sold him his château, and was subsequently exceedingly embarrassed by the unjust retention of the furniture, not included in the bargain, and the shameless rapacity of the duke, who seized on the produce of the adjacent lands, without disturbing himself about legal rights or the misery of the tenantry. The Baron of Klingenberg, too late aware of his error in patronising the royal but unprincipled exile, and yet personally unable to avert the evils thus brought on by his imprudent confidence, wore out the patience of his co-citizens at Soleure by his reiterated demands of intervention.

Nearly four centuries have passed into the abyss of time since the termination of this singular war; and it would ill become the pencil of a foreign artist to bring forward at its close, what they (of whose dust not an atom remains) so carefully endeavoured to conceal whilst alive, faults on the one side, or injustice on the other; but one feature, painted on

the canvas of History, stands out so prominently that a valuable moral would be omitted if it were passed over without comment,—the influence of well-combined efforts of judgment, discretion, and energy in the conduct of our worldly affairs. Fortuitous circumstances sometimes neutralize the most judicious arrangements, perhaps to humble the pride of man's heart, lest he should imagine that by the power of his own right hand and lordly intellect, he can ever obtain the victory; but, humanly speaking, a favourable result may, without presumption, be anticipated from the proper employment of adequate means. And the immense superiority of acuteness, foresight, activity, and tact, displayed by the female combatants, in the management of the contest from its very commencement, augured well for the termination. A writer of French Switzerland, alluding to the relaxation of some religious houses, says, "The nuns of Klingenthal had not a better renown, and after a decree from Pope Sixtus IV., commanding their reformation, took up arms in their own defence, made a ridiculous scene, were driven out of their convent, and finished by involving the city of Basle in a serious quarrel."*

* Les religieux de Bâle n'avaient pas meilleur renom. Un decret de Sixte 4me ayant ordonné la reforme des sœurs du Klingenthal, elles s'armèrent comme elles purent, tentèrent une ridicule defense, se firent chasser, et finirent par attirer à la ville de Bâle une serieuse querelle.

It is not intended to vindicate the previous conduct of the nuns, or their violent, yet most ludicrous, attack on the grave personages appointed the bearers of the pope's unpalatable brief; neither can some parts of their defence be considered honourable. The age was, however, unscrupulous; and the Macchiavellian maxim, that all stratagems are fair in war, presents some shadow of excuse for their breach of faith with men they considered usurpers. It may, however, be questioned whether any measures should be stigmatized as "ridiculous" which obtain success; and, after the first outbreak of most unfeminine violence, it is scarcely possible to imagine any line of tactics better adapted to defeat the machinations of the monks. The humble petition for the delay of a single short week, to recover from their grief, and the stupor of their faculties, was a masterpiece of diplomacy; and its boon the silver key that unlocked to them once more the gates of Klingenthal, through the *medium* of negotiation. The prolongation of the term, to be enabled to wind up their affairs, with the hint of obedience, was the next stroke of policy. Their subsequent refusal to fulfil the contract on the ground of not being free agents when it was acceded to,—the resolute determination to be ejected by force from the convent,—the concealment or falsification of their leases, papers, and resources, so that when in actual pos-

session of the debateable land, their foes could derive hardly any advantage from that which is usually considered nine points of the law—the presentation of receipts for rents, most probably never paid over, which thus, at least for a year, prevented the monks from obtaining the monies owing to the estate, or punishing the defaulters, whose attachment to the old régime was doubtless in no small degree strengthened by gratitude for these boons,—their refusal to accept a fraction of their own dowries, lest it might be thought to constitute a proof of acquiescence in their banishment,—their unwearied activity, and the wise, discreet, maidenly deportment of those, no longer under the restraint of monastic rules, with the patient endurance of all their rigours by the less fortunate sisters, condemned to pine in distant convents, where the superiors were doubtless enjoined to inflict unsparing punishment on such obstinate offenders against papal supremacy,—and, lastly, the letters and statements, emanating in the name of the prioress, Anna Zergelten, from the gifted nun Bridget Schweighausen, so eloquent, so tender, so justificatory of their cause, yet so free from angry explicatives, or personal recriminations, like the accessories thrown by the cunning hand of a skilful artist into an unpleasant picture, giving beauty and effect to what might be harsh or displeasing in the outline or subject,—cast over their cause a halo that softened

the dark spots which imprudence had imprinted on their escutcheon of purity.

END OF THE NUNS' WAR.

The Nuns' War was written, in great measure, at Lausanne, in a sweet apartment commanding the same beautiful views which, with delightful pomposity, the great historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has recorded, cheered the intervals of his learned labours, and, at their close, inspired one of the most splendid efforts of his magnificent pen. Should the quiet pedestrian, now wandering in the wide road of historic research, who has culled these memorials of the fair Sisters of Klingenthal, have afforded a few brief hours of amusement to stay-at-home travellers (if such still exist), her loitering in the bye-paths of past ages will not have been in vain.

THE
WAR OF THE TWO ABBOTS:
 AN HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

“La querelle des investitures fut la source des guerres du Sacerdoce et de l’Empire . . . de ces guerres désastreuses, qui partagèrent l’Allemagne en deux parties opposées, dont l’un soutenait les prétensions des Papes, et l’autre les droits des Empereurs.”

“Ulrick d’Eppenstein occupé sans contredit le premier rang dans la longue liste des abbés de St. Gall.”—*Conservateur Suisse*, tome ix. p. 162.

**MONASTERIES OF ST. GALL AND REICHNAU ;
 SWITZERLAND. 1076—1094.**

THE contest concerning ecclesiastical investitures, begun by Gregory VII. (before his elevation to the tiara, a monk of Clugny, named Hildebrand, which the German nobles by a play of words changed to Hölbrand, *fire-brand*, in allusion to his violent character, and the desolating wars he lighted up in pursuing his plan for the temporal aggrandizement of the papal power), was the bitter stream of troubled waters which divided Germany into two opposite

extremes of opinion and action ; the fertile source from whence flowed all the subsequent quarrels between the sacerdotal party and that of the empire —the one supporting the pretensions of the pope, the other the rights of the emperor.

In the different countries of Helvetia, now united under the general name of Switzerland, the bishop of Coire, the counts of Kyburg, of Nellenburg, and of Toggenburg, with many other influential nobles and all their numerous dependencies, as well as the city of Zurich, early espoused the cause of the pope ; whilst the prince-bishops of Basle and Lausanne, the chancellor bishop of Sion in the Valais, the counts of Lenzburg, of Neuchâtel, and of Oltingen, with several lords of equal importance, remained faithful to the emperor.*

Henry IV. emperor of Germany, a young man,

* The kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, comprehended the whole mountainous region which we now call Switzerland. It was accordingly reunited to the Germanic empire by the bequest of Rudolph, along with the rest of his dominions. (Rudolph III., last of the Transjurane dynasty, to the Emperor Conrad II.) A numerous and ancient nobility, vassals one to another or to the empire, divided the possession with ecclesiastical lords hardly less powerful than themselves. Of the former, we find the Counts of Zähringen, Kyburg, Hapsburg, and Tokenburg, most conspicuous ; of the latter, the Bishop of Coire, the Abbot of St. Gall, and Abbess of Seckingen. Every variety of feudal rights was early found and long preserved in Helvetia ; nor is there any country whose history better illustrates that ambiguous relation, half property and half dominion, in which the

brave, affable, and not ill-disposed ; but of slender education and impetuous passions, which his two tutors, Hanno, archbishop of Mayence, and Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, (more occupied in ruling the heritage of their illustrious pupil than his mind,) had never taught him the necessity of subduing—at five years of age succeeding to a throne whose pillars his father's ambition had already shaken, ere the hapless orphan mounted its tottering steps, then involved in an open war with rebellious Saxony, and fighting inch by inch for pre-eminence with many haughty barons of his court ambitious of further distinction—was peculiarly ill fitted to oppose so many and, unfortunately, such potent enemies.

Early in 1077, the dissensions which had so long existed between Pope Gregory, VII., the emperor Henry, and his refractory subjects, reached their climax. Henry having positively refused to relinquish to the former the royal prerogative of confirming bishoprics and abbeys, on the seemingly natural ground that in one form or other it had been exercised by a long line of ancestors ; and with his customary warmth of temper declared his determination to transmit this important privilege intact to his successors by every means in his power ; the pope,

territorial aristocracy, under the feudal system, stood with respect to their dependents.—*Hallam's View of the Middle Ages*, chap. v. p. 340.

who had been long tampering with his domestic enemies, sent him an imperious order to appear personally at Rome, there to vindicate his conduct towards them. Such an insult offered to a young and passionate monarch, produced the effect intended—further exasperation. Henry assembled in haste a number of bishops and nobles, his stanchest friends, at Worms, and procured a sentence of deposition against the pope. He was probably beguiled into this unadvised measure by the recollection that his father, the emperor Henry III.,* one of the most absolute monarchs that ever lived, had actually been invested, at a period of public disorder, with the express power of nominating the supreme head of the church; and although for many years this imperial privilege had not merely fallen into disusage, but was to a certain degree annulled by a decree issuing from Gregory himself, when during the pontificate of Nicholas II., he ruled in the papal court, under the title of cardinal Hildebrand; Henry, listening only

* Henry III. died at thirty-nine years of age, of a lingering malady: he had acquired greater control than any of his predecessors over the election of the pontiff; and his widow, Agnes, was exceedingly displeased that during Henry IV.'s infancy her consent was not formally demanded, as his guardian, before the nomination of Alexander II., and a schism ensued; but the monk Hildebrand, who brought him in, had already acquired great influence over the Church; for, "to the shame of society," says Sismondi, "it is not by amiable manners and gentle virtues that men usually govern their fellows."

to his passions, determined to consider it had simply rested in abeyance during his own long minority, or been robbed of its legitimate power by those to whom it was obnoxious when there was none to oppose their usurpation. But he soon learnt the time was past when emperors could so rule the church, and, like other inexperienced, ill-directed monarchs, found he had formed an erroneous estimate of his strength.

The pope, on learning Henry's rash proceedings at Worms, immediately summoned a council in the Lateran palace ; and there, after solemnly excommunicating his impetuous rival, declared him deprived of his kingdoms of Germany and Italy, released his subjects from their allegiance, and recommended the election of another sovereign. A blow so terrible in the middle ages, gave such encouragement to the numerous foes which various untoward circumstances had enlisted against Henry, that, aided by the assistance of the papal court, they soon proclaimed him fallen from his imperial dignity ; and a very considerable body of malcontents, with the duke of Zœringen at their head, elected in his place Rudolph duke of Swabia, his cousin and brother-in-law ; thus adding the bitterness of family ties, now irrevocably riven asunder, to the cup of deposition.*

* Rodolph était fils de Cunon, Comte de Rheinfelden ; il descendait par les femmes de l'Empereur Otton I. ; son père était

The anti-Cæsar, Rudolph, count of Rheinfelden and duke of Swabia, thus suddenly called upon to enact the miserable roll of tool to a party and usurper of his youthful brother's throne, was, equally with Henry, descended from the Transjurane kings who had formerly governed Little Burgundy, comprising great part of Helvetia, with the kingdoms of Provence and Italy, nearly two hundred years; and had apparently strengthened this hereditary relation by two unions, the first with the princess Matilda,*

frère utérin de Théodoric, Duc de Haute-Lorraine, de Wernher 1^{er} Evêque de Strasbourg, et de la célèbre Itta de Habsbourg, fondatrice de l'Abbaie de Mury-en-Argovie. *Généal. de Mury; Hergott* i. p. 299. *Wieland Vindiciæ actorum. Murensium*, p. 139, et seq. Voilà ce qui est diplomatiquement prouvé. Mais plusieurs généalogistes ont pressenti que Rodolph devait se rattacher par les liens du sang à la dynastie Royale de Bourgogne. . . . Peut-être serait-on plus heureux en cherchant dans le Duc Rodolph, frère du roi de Bourgogne, Conrad le Pacifique, qui fit un établissement en Alsace, l'ancêtre de anti-César Rodolph de Rheinfelden; origine qui, si elle était prouvée, deviendrait féconde en considérations historiques et politiques et rattacherait la chaîne du Rectorat à la Dynastie Royale de Bourgogne.—*Mémoires et Documens de la Suisse Romande*, vol. i. p. 24.

* Rudolph was many years older than Henry, and it was hoped this alliance would have made him a strong supporter of the crown. The premature decease of Matilda, a princess of fine mind, great goodness, and beauty, proved a deathblow to her brother. La régente ne pouvait se choisir un appui plus ferme et plus utile contre ceux qui menaçaient de lui disputer l'autorité pendant la long minorité de son fils. Aussi elle le combla de biens et d'honneurs.

Henry's own sister, and after her early death, with the princess Adelaide of Savoy, sister of the empress Bertha. So uncertain, however, are the most probable events of this strange world, that the very connexion with the princess Adelaide, designed to reunite the severed chain, and link faster the bond of amity subsisting between these illustrious personages, possibly produced the estrangement which ultimately separated them for ever. A feud had existed before Henry's open opposition to the pope led the latter to select Rudolph as a fitting instrument through whose medium Henry might be punished for his obstinate rebellion to papal authority.

Adelaide, widow of Eudes, marquess of Susa, their mutual mother-in-law, had interposed her good offices, but, unhappily, with the usual want of success which commonly attends such Samaritan efforts. It is, in fact, impossible for a third person to discern or remove the concealed aversions, the secret springs of envy—of mortified self-love—of wounded pride—it may be, of sincere affection; and all those particular motives of individual self-interest, those slights offered by one party in private and retaliated by another in public, which are the essential foundation of family dissensions. Nor can such sad alienations ever be annihilated, but by a frank and loyal desire of the parties themselves to return to a state of union and harmony. The cause or causes, for it is rarely one

which produces such a breach of all the ties of kindred, must ever be buried in oblivion. Rudolph, proud and ambitious—Henry hasty and arbitrary—Adelaide claiming perhaps from a sister more than an empress could grant—and Bertha, whose courage in sharing with her hapless lord his perilous passage over the Pennine Alps in the midst of winter, gave promise of a noble fidelity which her after years belied, might each have been in fault : the result is better known—ruin to all ! *

Amongst the nobles confederate in favour of Rudolph, stood, pre-eminent in zeal and importance, a former bitter foe, Berthold, Duke of Zœringen ; whose arm, says an old chronicler, was before every other powerful in Helvetia, either to injure or protect. Sprung from a line that scarcely yielded in wealth or

* Les Recteurs de la Petite Bourgogne. Après la mort de Rodolph III. en 1032, la Petite Bourgogne fut gouvernée au nom des Empereurs d'Allemagne, par des Recteurs, qui prirent d'abord le titre de Comtes, jusqu'à Conrad de Zœringen, qui prit celui de Landgrave.

Le premier des ces Recteurs fut le Comte Rodolph de Rheinfelden, Duc de Souabe, qui régît la Transjurane sous la minorité d'Henri IV. depuis 1056 à 1088. Ce Comte avait épousé une fille d'Henri III., nommée Mathilde, sœur de l'Empereur Henri IV. Cette femme mourut jeune, laissant une fille Agnès, qui épousa Berchtold II. de Zœringen, dont il eut deux fils Berchtold III. et Conrad ; plus une fille nommée aussi Agnès, qui épousa le Comte Guillaume III., qui fut Recteur de la Petite Bourgogne.—*Dic. Hist. du Canton de Vaud, par Louis Levade, p. 269.*

extensive dominion to the Transjurane kings of Little Burgundy, he was one of those influential subjects whose support wise monarchs will ever deem it policy to conciliate ; and the Emperor Henry III., acting probably on this principle, had given a promise that he would create him duke of Swabia, accompanying the assurance with a ring, as a pledge of sincerity. Unhappily, for his son and successor, he died ere the boon was legally confirmed ; and the empress Agnes, who governed during Henry IV.'s minority with his two ecclesiastical tutors, not considering herself bound by her husband's intentions, bestowed the title on Rudolph, Count of Rheinfelden, then actually administering the revenues of the Duchy of Burgundy Cis-jurane.* As a relative, and the betrothed husband of her daughter Matilda, there would have been great propriety in conferring this royal fief

* Non contente de lui donner l'investiture du duché de Souabe, au mépris des promesses formelles de l'empereur défunt à Berthold de Zœringen, Comte en Brisgau, elle y ajouta encore le gouvernement de la Bourgogne Transjurane, avec le titre de duc (Dux Burgundionum) dignité inconnue jusqu'alors dans ces contrées, où le rang de comte comprenait un pouvoir et des prérogatives tout aussi étendus.

Herman contrat. l. c. ad a^m. 1057. Otton de Schweinfurt, Duc de Souabe, mourut le 29 Sept^{re}. 1057 (Art de Vérifier les Dates). La nomination de Rodolph est donc de la fin de cette année.

Ditmar, lib. 7 ad a^m. 1027.—“ in his partibus nullus vocatur Comes nisi is qui Ducis possidet honorem.

on the Count of Rheinfelden, had not the deceased emperor's promise to the Duke of Zœringen existed to render it an ungracious act towards him. To appease the resentment of a chief, whose influence might be dangerous if adverse, the duke of Zœringen was subsequently invested with the dukedom of Carinthia, and marquisate of Verona;* but the animosity which ensued in consequence between the dukes was never extinguished till, in an evil hour for himself, Henry, subject in early manhood to violent gusts of rage, displeased with some part of their conduct as feudal vassals, dismissed them *both* from his councils. Exasperated at this disgrace, the haughty princes forgot their ancient animosity in mutual hate against their inexperienced and imprudent sovereign. Strong in their united power, they withdrew from court, and Henry, equally resentful and rash, took away the principality of Carinthia, and bestowed it upon a distant relative of his own, Marquard, Count of Eppenstein.†

* Aussi l'empereur sentant de quelle utilité il pouvait lui être, n'avait-il négligé aucun moyen pour l'apaiser.—*Mémoires et Documents, inédits par la Société d'Hist. de la Suisse Romande*, p. 21.

† Berthold I. had married Agnes, sister of Rudolph.—*Gerbertus*, l. c. p. 126.

Conrad, Duke of Carinthia, who died 1012, married Matilda of Swabia, daughter of Gerberge, sister of Rodolph III., last king of Burgundy. Marquard of Eppenstein descended from that line.—*Mémoires et Documents de la Suisse Romande*, vol. i.

Men of timid character or wavering principles sink under strokes of this nature; but Berthold of Zœringen, endowed with great abilities and greater courage, became more formidable by misfortune. Concentrating all his energies and forces, he went suddenly into Saxony, where he brought such timely, though covert, aid to the rebels, that the emperor, too late aware of the fault he had committed, and fearing for his provinces there, tried to repair the breach between them by conciliatory overtures. But he was doomed, alas! like Charles of England, to find that "the beginning of strife is indeed like the letting out of water." Berthold and his new ally, Rudolph, punctually paid the contingencies demanded from them as dependents of the imperial crown, but continued so determined in opposition to all Henry's political measures, that he felt himself obliged to conclude a less glorious peace with his contumacious subjects in Saxony than they merited, in order to be at leisure to watch over nearer and more important interests.*

About this inauspicious epoch was promulgated at Rome, what Gregory VII, of a subtle and insinuating genius, adroit in seizing on the minds of others, was pleased to term "regulations for the clergy against simony and libertinage," by which was understood not

* Henry, says a Swiss writer, tried *de le mettre en défaut*—in vain.

simply the crimes so specified, but accepting *any* ecclesiastical benefice from the hands of the laity ;* and the marriage of the clergy. To the great chagrin of the emperor, Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, and Berthold, Duke of Zœringen,† whose example was in itself a host, publicly declared in favour of this ordinance, which he well knew was a blow levelled rather at his power than the offences of the priesthood. It required, indeed, little sagacity to foresee that such measures carried into full execution, must of necessity leave the church unshackled by the will of the sovereign, and consequently weaken the firmest props of his throne.‡

Germany and Italy soon became one vast warlike

* Tous les ecclésiastiques avoient anciennement été élus par le peuple de leur paroisse ; mais les seigneurs et les rois, en enrichissant l'Eglise, s'étoient presque tous réservé à eux-mêmes et à leurs successeurs, la présentation aux bénéfices qu'ils créaient pour elle, c'est-à-dire, le droit d'élire ou de désigner le prêtre qui en seroit revêtu. Indépendamment de ce contrat entre le donateur et la paroisse, toutes les fois qu'une église possédoit un fief, le nouveau prélat, par les lois de l'état, ne pouvoit en être mis en possession qu'autant qu'il en étoit investi par le Seigneur dont il relevoit—C'étoit la loi féodale, la loi universelle, qui n'admettoit pas d'exceptions en faveur des ecclésiastiques.

† Tutta la Germania era in discordia, tutta l'Italia non era meno di quella agitata e commossa.

‡ Il fut prohibé aux prêtres de recevoir aucun bénéfice ecclésiastique des mains d'un laïc, *même gratis*.—*Sismondi*, vol. i. p. 121.

arena, a prey to dissensions such as since the fall of the Roman domination had never existed: bishops, counts, barons, persons of all ages, sexes, and parties, were agitated by these questions. Pious men generally, aware of the licentiousness of the age, and the necessity of reformation, preferring to suffer in their worldly interests rather than fail in what appertained to religion, ranged themselves on the side of the pope, regarding the care of their souls as more important than their temporal possessions; whilst, on the contrary, worldly considerations, a victorious army, the hope of military glory, and the chance of a brilliant destiny, chivalrous feelings, pity for the youthful monarch thus stripped of his patrimony; and indignation at the pope's invasion of long-vested rights, raised up an army of friends for Henry.*

Such was the feverish excitement of the empire when Henry, harassed by the pope, and affronted by some of the greatest vassals of the crown, ventured on the fatal step which brought down on his devoted head the thunder of excommunication.

Few of the public acts of this ill-fated monarch

* A Swiss author, alluding to Rudolph's assumption of the crown, says he had done so "contrary to every law human and divine, and deserved to be proscribed and deprived alike of his possessions and his life." "Lequel contre toute loi divine et humaine avait attenté à l'empire et à l'empereur, et méritait d'être pros crit, condamné, et privé de ses biens et de sa vie."—*Bridel*.

were ever more calamitous to him, or have been more universally condemned by all historians, than the apparent pusillanimity and versatility of mind which, after he had braved the terrors of excommunication by an attempt to depose his adversary at Worms, led him to seek a reconciliation at the sacrifice of his own consistency, and in opposition to the expressed wish of many powerful nobles who were on this occasion united with him in a desire to repress the arrogant pretensions of the haughty pontiff. Gregory's previous insolence to their royal master had been by no means displeasing to them, for they secretly hoped by his humiliation to be enabled themselves to throw off a part at least of the imperial yoke ; but the extraordinary claim to lay investitures struck at the root of their own personal importance, since ecclesiastical preferments were usually bestowed as appanages on the younger sons of illustrious houses, and it was with mingled scorn and indignation they saw him obey a mandate which, they feared, might end in entire submission to papal dominion.

The consternation amongst his followers, the desertion of many who had hitherto adhered to him, the grief of the empress, and the dread that in his palaces in Germany the same frightful scenes might be again enacted which had passed in those of France, when excommunicated kings were thankful to receive a morsel of bread at the end of a stick from the faith-

ful menial, who yet recoiled with superstitious fear as he presented it, had, doubtless, each and all, its weight with Henry in deciding him to comply with the pope's requisition ; but a vague tradition exists in Switzerland that Henry was ultimately led into this measure by influence which legitimate history has not recognised.

The hidden springs of the human heart are often vibrated, like those of the *Æolian* harp, by unseen power ; and perhaps, little suspected by himself, Henry's responded to the unacknowledged touch of female fears and female hopes. The empress Bertha, indeed, openly avowed her anxious desire to conciliate their potent foe by undertaking a journey to Rome, ere the dreaded year of grace, granted for a penitent to return to the bosom of the offended church, should expire ; but Henry would not, probably, have yielded to her solicitations, in opposition to those of wounded pride and personal interest ; there was still another feminine spirit in his court, whose longings for peace and reconciliation with the great head of Christianity, working on another heart (tenderer than his own), who perhaps decided this luckless measure.

At the time of Henry's admission to the exercise of the royal functions, the episcopal benches of Basle and Lausanne were occupied by two cousins, sons of two brothers, Buco and Ulric, of the house of Cuno, Count of Oltingen, a wild mountainous region in the

vicinity of Berne ; its very name, in old German or Swabian, implied " castle in the desert." * Buco, the elder brother, according to the custom of the age, lived in the paternal residence till he became liege lord ; whilst Ulric received, as younger brother, the castle of Hassenburg, with the usual appendages of a fortress in those days ; rights of fishing and hunting, liberty to cut down wood for fuel in the forests around, pasturage for cattle of some miles' extent, and feudal service from the serfs, thinly scattered over so barren a district, with a small homestead, surrounded by a few cultivated fields near the lake of Bienne, called a *fenil*, the name still employed to designate a very small property in many parts of both German and French Switzerland. The brothers, wide as were their future fortunes, appear to have preserved towards each other that fraternal friendship which is so beautiful and, alas ! so rare to behold. By the assistance of his elder brother, Ulric was enabled to bestow on his son the same learned education given to the young heir, and eventually

* Le siège épiscopal de Lausanne était occupé par Burcard fils d'un Comte d'Oltingen, qui y monta en 1039 et le garda 50 ans : cet évêque guerrier resta invariablement attaché à l'empereur Henri 4me, dont il était un des conseillers ; il le suivit dans plusieurs expéditions, combattit à diverses fois sous ses drapeaux, et fut enfin tué le soir de Noël 1088, à côté de son maître, dans la sanglante bataille de Gleichen en Thuringe.—*Conservateur Suisse*, tome ix. p. 163.

the two cousins became bishops of Bâle and Lausanne. Fortune, however, still leaned to the side of the elder branch, for Burcard, the Prince-bishop of Lausanne, possessed one of the richest sees in Helvetia, and Ulric perhaps the poorest, till the gratitude of the emperor for his steady fidelity, and the liberalities of the Counts of Oltingen, subsequently raised its revenues to an equality with those of the Prince-bishops of Lausanne. In addition to the enormous possessions of his see, Burcard, the Prince-bishop of Lausanne, born with great talents, and of a warlike, stubborn character, fitted for the turbulent era in which he had to act his part in the great theatre of the world, had early made his way in various diplomatic missions, and was, whilst still a very young man, raised, about 1038, to the exalted position he then held. He belonged to one of those noble feudal families accustomed to consider the goods of the church as fiefs, bestowed by them and their ancestors to be returned in another form for the provision of younger children; and, warmly attached to his elder brother, count Cuno, he had greatly resented the loss of a beautiful vineyard at St. Aubin, in the district of Avenches, belonging to his own diocese, which their father, the old Count of Oltingen, a man of choleric temper, was obliged to cede, a few years before, to the Pope's nuncio in Switzerland, as an atonement for some alleged vio-

lence in a churchyard, where the assizes were then holden.* This delinquency was tortured into an act of disrespect to the church, and the old count, in cooler moments, had been glad to make his peace on such terms; but vineyards, always valuable, were then rare as well as costly things, formed with much labour and expense, and those in the *Pays de Vaud*, as it was at that time termed, ever in especial repute. His sons considered the punishment far beyond the aggression, and on these grounds united heartily with Henry and the discontented barons of Germany against the Pope when he published his unpalatable brief on the subject of lay investitures. The Bishop of Lausanne was, besides, personally attached to his royal master, whose youth and inexperience rendered him so incapable of stemming the torrent of adversity which everywhere crossed his path. Henry had called him to his councils almost at the very commencement of his reign, doubtless pleased with something frank and loyal in his bearing; and relying with confidence on a prelate now verging towards his sixtieth year, he had seldom taken any important

* En 1072, sur le cimetière de Rue ("Rode"), où se tenaient vraisemblablement les assises, Buko fut reconnu coupable d'un forfait ("pro forefacto") envers l'église de Lausanne, et il fut condamné à donner une vigne sise à Saint Aubin, dans le district d'Avenches (Wivlisgau) "in fine viæ quæ dicitur Pertusium." Document dans Zapf.—Müller, *Hist. de la Confédération Suisse*, vol. i.

step without his concurrence. He was present at the Council of Worms very early in the year 1076, and was considered as the member whose influence over that body had decided the majority to consent to the letter written to Gregory announcing his deposition from the crown of St. Peter.* These were sufficient motives for Burcard's adoption of the popular side; but he had others of a private nature, of still greater weight, which impelled him to oppose, with all his might, the despotic innovations of the pontiff; he was, in strict conformity with the apostolic injunction, "the husband of one wife;" and Gregory VII., who governed two predecessors on the papal throne, before he sat there as legitimate sovereign himself, was well known to have prompted the revival of the decrees against the marriage of the clergy.†

* The Bishops of Lausanne, especially those who were chancellors, appended their names to diplomatic acts. Burcard was present at the Council of Worms in 1076. "Burcard fut un des membres les plus influents : et eut grande part à la lettre que cette assemblée écrivit à Hildebrand pour lui annoncer qu'elle l'avait déposé."—*MS. Matériaux inédits pour une histoire littéraire du Canton de Vaud.*

† Dès le commencement de la querelle des investitures, Otton Evêque de Constance, Burkard, Evêque de Basle, Burchard, Evêque de Lausanne, et Hermenfried, Evêque de Sion, avaient encouru l'excommunication du Pape Grégoire VII., pour avoir refusé de se soumettre aux nouveaux décrets de ce Pontife que proscrivaient le mariage des prêtres. Burchard, Evêque de Lausanne,

In Italy there had been, for some years previous to this last furious crusade against clerical husbands, a growing feud on the subject; and at Milan the priests were unanimous in retaining their wives, despite of all denunciations from Rome, quoting, as an apology, the authority of the great archbishop Ambrose, who was openly adverse to the celibacy of the clergy. At an early age the Bishop of Lausanne had married an Italian lady of great beauty and accomplishments, whose virtues and cultivated mind, as she advanced in years, secured the proud but faithful heart her personal graces had won. Many had been the sharp reprimands Burcard received on this point from the Pope's nuncio, and many bitter pangs had they doubtless given him; but he was of "sterner stuff" than to yield to an ordinance which would deprive him of the sweet companionship of a wife endeared by long years of friendship, and must, he felt, affix a tacit brand on the honour of one whose conscience he knew to be stainless and unsullied as the snow wreaths on his native Alps.

filz de Bucho, Comte de Barga et Seigneur d'Oltingen, de même que l'Evêque de Constance et beaucoup d'autres prêtres, avait une femme légitime dont le nom n'est pas connu; quoiqu'on lui attribue plusieurs fondations pieuses à Lausanne et à Marsens. Il refusa de s'en séparer et déclara qu'il aimait mieux faire divorce avec le sacerdoce qu'avec l'épouse qu'il s'était choisie!—*Lambert d'Aschaff.*, p. 201.—"Qui se non continet nubat; melius est nubere quam Uri."—"Malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere."

Whilst such were the sentiments that animated the bishop, Clara of Oltingen, who bore the doubtful title of "bishop's wife," was influenced by others far opposite. In the bloom of youth she, too, had disregarded the dislike generally entertained towards such connexions in Germany, the land of her adoption; but as the prejudice became more deeply rooted, she sought to conciliate public favour and opinion by building many churches and chapels, and endowing hospitals, in addition to the numerous acts of private charity which marked her otherwise unostentatious career. The chapel of St. Nicholas, at Lausanne, and the church of St. Peter, at Marsens, near Curtilles, were among the munificent structures of this amiable woman, worthy of a better fate, which a contemporary chronicler describes as having "sculptured roofs of solid stone," as a proof that she spared no expense to render them worthy of their sacred destination.*

* 1038. Après Hugue, le siège episcopal fut occupé par Burcard, fils de Buccon, Comte d'Oltingen, homme fier et belliqueux. Il eut une femme légitime qui fit bâtir la chapelle de Saint Nicholas, avec la voûte en pierre qui la couvre, et l'église de Saint Pierre de Marsens, près de Curtilles.—*Chronique du Cartulaire de Lausanne.*

The same notice of Clara of Oltingen thus appears in the ancient Chronicle of Moudon:—

Il eût une femme légitime, qui bâtit à Lausanne la chapelle de St. Nicholas, avec la voûte en pierre au-dessus; et l'église

A heart rightly organized, even when not powerfully affected by religious principles, shrinks with instinctive delicacy from contempt; and the shadow of a doubt, where honour is in question, must ever excite the keenest emotions of grief and shame in a virtuous bosom. The hidden wound, which no friendly hand can heal—the ulcer of the mind, which pride and despair must conceal from every eye—is the bitterest of all human woes—but remorse! The excommunication launched against the emperor and all his adherents, which terrified the empress, fell with far more withering force on her.

The bishop defied the harsh, unevangelical command which required him to repudiate the wife of his bosom when the lustre of her charms was faded by time, and despised the narrow bigotry which cast a slur on them both; but she felt that, exalted as they were in rank, and estimable in private life, and however guiltless in their own opinion when they plighted their vows, those vows were now openly stigmatized as criminal, and that the finger of scorn might be pointed at them by the meanest and vilest hand. Woe to the fond, or feeble, or haughty spirit, which in an evil hour thus risks the possibility of the world's censure! Conscience may inflict no pang but apprehensive delicacy and sensitive pride will

de St. Pierre de Marsens, près de Curtilles.—*MS. de Moudon, le Canton de Vuud, par Olivier.*

plant a thousand. It is not simply the unfeeling or the insolent, or the proud pharisee, who can avail themselves of the privilege to stab, presented by a doubtful position ; the cool greeting of a common acquaintance whose friendship we neither value nor desire—the absence of some trivial attention from those we love, or whose good opinion we covet, though perhaps unintentional, is constantly traced by a wounded heart to that which never quits the memory for a moment, like the poisoned robe which clung to the fabled son of Jupiter, till death became a welcome relief from its torments.

It is wise for all to feel that dependence for happiness, even here, must be mainly fixed on God ; but they who have thus made shipwreck of their legitimate place in society should learn that earth has no more flowers or fruits for them, and that to fix their hopes supremely on another existence is their sole resource against the inseparable sorrows and evils attendant on their blighted sojourn in this.

It is said the nobles of Germany feared Henry would yield to the Pope some part of their peculiar privileges to the nomination of bishops and heads of religious houses ; and thence the indignation at his journey to Rome. They had certainly no prejudice in favour of married priests, like many of their order in Italy, and without some apprehension of this nature, their opposition to Henry's visit seems incomprehen-

sible. Possibly Clara of Oltingen may have suggested to the Bishop of Lausanne, then Henry's responsible minister, that by timely submission to the Pope's mandate, requiring his personal presence in Rome within one year; and conceding to him the great pecuniary point—*right of investiture*,—he might be induced to relinquish a part of his own requisitions, might abate somewhat of his high notions as to church discipline, and diminish in some degree the fierceness of his present attack on those members of the priesthood *already* engaged in the bonds of wedlock. Should this have been the part enacted by the bishop's counsellor—should she have advocated a conciliatory course—she but evinced the distinctive features of her sex; for the slightest insight into the female character displays a shrinking from agitation, a receding from danger quite foreign from the dauntless intrepidity which is so prominent in a masculine nature. The very storm, which feminine susceptibility of wrong or insult has raised, will generally be found to subside before its consequences; the sensitive spirit, which had resented some slight or injury, will quail before the coarser mind which offered it, if war must be the result of continued complaint; and, while feeling the aggression increased by the injustice which refuses reparation, will be the first in concession, and the most sincere in reconciliation. It may be that the entreaties of Clara of Oltingen at length induced

the bishop to bow before their common enemy ; and his influence, thrown into the trembling balance, at length led the hesitating monarch to compliance. Without this supposition, the conduct of the stern Bishop of Lausanne, so many years the inflexible opposer of the papal court, is yet more inexplicable than that of the emperor ; who, panic-struck as he was, still betrayed so much reluctance to this degrading and painful step, that the allotted period for reflection was nearly exhausted ere he began his hasty preparations for a journey to Canossa, where the Pope was then on a visit to the countess Matilda, so famous for her legacies and donations to the holy see, and her unsparing persecution of all she considered its opposers.

Whatever were the motives, or from whatever source originated, the effect was disastrous on the fortunes of Henry ; and failed to appease the inexorable enemy whose wrath it was hoped would be mollified by the concession. It is generally indeed a useless toil to endeavour to conciliate those who think their interests, real or imagined, will be best promoted by a course of hostility. The proffered hand is vainly held out to one who believes it may be more advantageous not to press it. The whole tenor of the Pope's conduct betrays a desire to render the imperial crown elective, and the diadem a present from the papal court to be repaid by feudal homage to the tiara.

The emperor was sojourning at the palace of Oppenheim, near his faithful city of Worms, when he came to this final resolution; and from thence, escorted by a small detachment of chosen cavalry, proceeded to Besançon, where his maternal uncle William, Count of Burgundy, resided. The perils and privations of this ill-starred journey to obtain absolution, and a return to the blessings of the church, were shared by the empress—their infant son Conrad—a few members of their households—some of the ministers of the crown, including the Bishop of Lausanne, and by her who, in the phraseology of our own imperious Elizabeth when addressing the wife of archbishop Parker, had no other legitimate appellation than the generic name of “WOMAN.” *

The count received his illustrious relatives and their suite with respectful cordiality, undismayed by the cloud of episcopal resentment which rested over their heads; and they remained his guests till the close of the Christmas holidays, when it became necessary to fix on the road by which to pass into Italy. This presented a chain of apparently insurmountable

* Lambert of Aschaffenburg, a contemporary historian, relates in his chronicle many particulars of the journey of this unfortunate monarch across the wide extent of the Jura and Pennine Alps in the most severe winter of the eleventh century, through snow and ice, which, from the 26th October, 1076, to the 25th of the following March, covered the whole face of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.—*Cons. Suisse*, tome vi. page 301.

difficulties in their present position ; for the troops of Henry's most inveterate enemies, Rudolph, his competitor for the throne, the Duke of Zœringen, and Guelf, Duke of Bavaria, had already taken possession of the usual passages, then termed "cluses," to preclude him from arriving in time to avert the papal sentence of deposition, if not at Rome on the great fête of Candlemas. In this dilemma, after the most anxious reflection, it was judged advisable to attempt the ancient pass of Mont-joux, better known to modern travellers as the Great St. Bernard, which being considered utterly impracticable at such a season, was found to have been left unguarded and unwatched. In pursuance of this plan, the emperor proceeded to Vevey, a beautiful town on the lake of Geneva, containing a strong castle, then temporarily inhabited by the empress's mother Adelaide, Marchioness of Suza, in her own right, whose dominions extending to the very gates of Turin, gave her vast authority over the dukes of Savoy, and other courts. She also possessed Piedmont, the tract of country bordering lake Lemane called the *Chablais*, the major part of the Pays de Vaud, and Aosta on the other side of the St. Bernard, with many strong fortresses and abbeys. At Vevey the royal travellers were again welcomed by near relations, and treated with the courtesy due to their exalted rank ; but it is humiliating to human nature to record that a mother, and brother, the Count of

Maurienne, son of the marchioness, incited by the mercenary instigations of selfish policy, refused to grant them a passage through their dominions, without obtaining, as an equivalent for the favour, several bishoprics and some valuable fiefs belonging to the emperor in Lombardy, and the *bas Valais*, situated near to their own possessions in Italy and Switzerland.

The ministers and councillors of the emperor, among whom the Bishop of Lausanne was conspicuous for his warmth, indignant at the mean and cruel advantage thus taken of Henry's defenceless situation, strenuously resisted a demand which they considered highly injurious to his interests, especially in Italy; but at this critical moment, forced to reach Canossa in person at a given time, delay became hourly more dangerous; and finally, after long and stormy debates, during which the Count of Maurienne evinced little sympathy for the melancholy situation of his brother-in-law, or regard to the tears of his sister, he yielded the contested point so far as to accept, in lieu of the bishoprics demanded, the rich abbey of St. Maurice and its dependencies, the small but pretty town of Aigle garnished with a strong fortress, and some valuable fiefs in Burgundy.*

This contract (which no unhappy Jew, among the

* The bishoprics, five in number, were Geneva, Lausanne, Sion, St. Maurice, and La Tarantaise. No wonder the fiery Bishop of Lausanne resisted the transfer of his see, so scan-

many then most mercilessly persecuted in their states, could have drawn up with less of Christian charity or honourable feeling,) signed, there remained other dalously and audaciously required from the emperor in his very presence.

Adelaide, Marchioness of Susa, was the last of that illustrious house established with princely authority at Turin by Charlemagne, after he destroyed the Lombard kingdom, under the express condition of defending the passages of the Alps and keeping order amongst neighbouring subjects disposed to revolt. In 1032 Ulderic Manfredi gave her (his sole child) in marriage to Otto, Count of Maurienne, of the royal line of Savoy, with the exercise of this power, as a part of her rich dowry. She lived to be very old, and had long previously buried three of her four children. The son, for whose sake she was so grasping towards her son-in-law, left no issue, and the possessions thus extorted from the necessity of the emperor merged with her princely domain into her husband's family, whom she had never liked, to the exclusion of her own grandchildren by Bertha and Adelaide. Shortsighted indeed is man! Turin thenceforth became the residence of the sovereigns of Savoy, whose power dates from this period. She was buried in the cathedral of Saint Justas, at Susa, so well known to the travellers of Mont Cenis from its proximity to that famous pass, and a majestic monument of Roman antiquity. The inhabitants of Turin are anxious to lay claim to her place of sepulture, but a figure of wood, gilt, with an inscription above the niche, indicating it to be the tomb of the princess Adelaide, in the chapel of the Virgin, seems to leave no doubt of her interment at Susa. The church is exceedingly rich in marbles, sculpture, and relics: the body of Adelaide is believed to lie in a very ancient sarcophagus above the figure. Some ruins of the palace of this extinct race still remain.

Peter, Count of Maurienne, the Marchioness of Susa's eldest son, died the year after his passage over the Great St. Bernard,

impediments of a different and still more difficult character to surmount. The Alps to be crossed were of so frightful a height that the attempt was always attended with risk even in summer. Some miles before attaining the desolate defile in which the monastery which caps the summit of the pass of St. Bernard is seated, all vegetation ceases—the melancholy monotonous chirp of the white alpine sparrow, and the decrease of the snow-heaps around, with mitigated cold for a few weeks, alone marks the change of the seasons. It was now in the very heart of one of the most rigorous and lengthened winters recorded in history: the narrow precipitous shelving paths, cut here and there in the rocks and mountains of Switzerland, were so obstructed by snow, each day accumulating, that the very face of nature was changed

most probably from its effects; but Amadeus II., her youngest son, survived her a short time, and was the first sovereign Count of Savoy. He coined, during his brief sole reign, silver money at Susa, with his own name and that of the city in which it was struck, thence called Segusina. He left no posterity, and his possessions thus passed to the house of Savoy, to its exceeding aggrandizement. There is much confusion in the pedigree of the house of Savoy, for which Guichenon, its historian, makes this excuse—

“Parcequ'en matière de généalogies on a peine à s'empêcher de faire des équivoques et des anachronismes, quand le père et fils se rencontrent avoir le même nom; et bien souvent l'on confond l'un avec l'autre, et l'on fait passer le fils pour le père et le père pour le fils.”—*Guichenon, Hist. Génél.* tome i.

everywhere, and it had become perilous to travel even short distances. In this extremity the Count of Maurienne, who somewhat redeemed his avarice by zealous efforts to bring about the safe accomplishment of the journey to Rome, applied to a class of men called *marroniers*, living in various parts of the canton of the Valais, the most mountainous region of Switzerland, about thirty miles from Vevey, whose only occupation being hunting the *chamois*, and guiding travellers over the passes of their wild fatherland, he deemed best calculated to direct the whole of this dangerous expedition. Encouraged by the offer of large rewards, a considerable body of the most experienced *marroniers* (the name even now borne by the domestics attached to the monastery of St. Bernard) came to Vevey, and undertook to open roads through the snow, and make such other arrangements as would conduct the emperor and his cortège, without imminent danger, to the Italian frontier. Reassured by this confident declaration, Henry left Vevey after a painful visit of some days, accompanied not only by his former suite, but the young Amadeus of Savoy, and the Marchioness of Susa*, who resuming that

* En 1076, l'empereur Henri, conseillé par ses amis de faire lever la sentence d'excommunication lancée contre lui par le Pape Grégoire, se rendait en Italie avec sa femme Bertha; il s'arrêta à Vevey, où il eût une entrevue avec le Comte de Maurienne et la Marquise de Suze, Adélaïde, dont l'un était frère et l'autre mère de Bertha. Tous deux, maîtres des

maternal character which, in compliance perhaps with her son's desire rather than her own, she had so recently abandoned, resolved to share this hazardous journey with the dejected empress.

A numerous band of *marronniers*, provided with various implements for overcoming the certain difficulties of the passage, driving before them a herd of oxen both to open and test its security, preceded this illustrious but most unhappy party, hardly recovered from the fatigue, cold, and alarms they had already experienced in coming from Besançon over the Jura mountains, which the season had long covered in a dense mantle of frozen snow.

The military road, opened by the Romans from Milan to their German settlements on the Rhine, over the St. Bernard, went through Vevey, Villeneuve, Aigle, St. Maurice, Martigny, Branchier, Liddes, and forest of St. Pierre. Eight centuries have indeed made some changes in the direction of

passages des Alpes, dans la Savoye et dans le Valais, par lesquels seuls l'empereur pouvait pénétrer en Italie, profitèrent de son embarras pour exiger de lui la cession de la Province d'Agaune et l'Abbaye de Saint Maurice, avec autorité souveraine sur ses grands biens. Dès lors les Comtes de Maurienne devinrent Abbés-Commendataires de ce couvent. A ce prix Adélaïde ouvrit les Alpes et escorta, accompagnée de son fils Amédée, l'empereur en Italie. Dans le trajet du Mont Joux (St. Bernard), en Janvier, au cœur de l'hiver et par un froid extrêmement rigoureux, ils eurent beaucoup à souffrir.—*Vevey, par E. D. Favré.*

the pass, but fewer in the general appearance of this sublimely wild region than might be imagined ; for the grand outlines of nature, in her rugged mountain charms, are ineffaceable. The Alps of Savoy, and the Valais, rising in savage grandeur from the wide expanse of the deep clear lake, their lofty tops now hidden by clouds—now breaking in bold relief upon the blue sky—will preserve their identity and form while earth shall endure. The narrow path skirting the woody heights which crown the antique towers of Chillon*—the little island immortalized by the hand

* “ Lake Lemman lies by Chillon’s walls ;
 A thousand feet in depth below
 Its massy waters meet and flow ;
 Thus much the fathom-line was sent
 From Chillon’s snow-white battlement.

* * * * *

“ Below the surface of the lake
 The dark vault lies wherein we lay :
 We heard it ripple night and day.
 In Chillon’s dungeons deep and old
 There are seven columns massy and grey,
 Dim with a dull, imprison’d ray.

“ And then there was a little isle,†
 Which in my very face did smile,
 The only one in view ;
 A small green isle, it seem’d no more,
 Scarce broader than my dungeon-floor,
 But in it there were three tall trees,
 And o’er it blew the mountain-breeze,

And

† Now called “ Byron’s Isle.”

of modern genius—the picturesque Savoyard villages of St. Gingolph and Boveret on the opposite coast of the blue waters—the gloomy valleys of the Rhone, not here “light and arrowy and sparkling,” glancing like molten silver, but turbid and dingy; and the low melancholy town of Villeneuve, standing in its marshy bed, (looking like a sepulchral monument reared over the submerged habitations of the Roman colony buried beneath it), surrounded by sterile walls of perpendicular rock, and the bright gushing fall of Salenche scattering its rainbow spray over the bold flowers springing from the scanty vegetation growing around—all were there, as now, to sadden or gladden the eye of the wanderer of ancient days. But the aspect was then wilder—the path narrower and more replete with perils. The castle of Chillon arose from the bosom of Lake Lemman a century afterwards; and the steep conical mountain of Châtelard was crested by a lofty fortress, still more formidable and frowning than the square tower which now lifts its battlemented head in lonely dignity over modern villas, cultivated gardens, and rich vineyards, lying below in all the pride of upstart wealth and improvement—a wreck of feudal ages linking together two worlds, the past and the present. The lovely hamlet of

And by it there were waters flowing,
And on it there were young flowers growing
Of gentle breath and hue.”

Clarens,* fabled scene of romantic and misguided love, imagined by a spirit as romantic and misguided,† existed not at this early epoch on the pebbly shore of the noble lake ; but the picturesque village of Montreux, suspended on the beautiful slopes of the Jura, with its noisy cascade, and rushing torrent, and alpine bridge of one single arch spanning the deep defile below, was rising into importance ; for a small cell, attached to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Maurice, had just finished its first humble foundation, whilst the ancient towns of Aigle, and St. Maurice, and Martigny, were far more extensive and opulent than some centuries later.

How many melancholy eyes have glanced on these scenes ! how many aching hearts followed that glance !

* "Clarens ! sweet Clarens, birthplace of deep Love !
Thine air is the young breath of passionate thought ;
Thy trees take root in Love ; the snows above
The very glaciers have his colours caught,
And sunset into rose-hues sees them wrought
By rays which sleep there lovingly : the rocks,
The permanent crags, tell here of Love, who sought
In them a refuge from the worldly shocks
Which stir, and sting the soul with hope that woos, then mocks.

* * * * *

'tis lone,
And wonderful and deep, and hath a sound,
And sense, and sight of sweetness ; here the Rhone
Hath spread himself a couch, the Alps have reared a throne."

Byron.

† Rousseau.

and, as each opening chain revealed its dreary length, shuddered and passed on, and perished, since the earliest ages of the Christian era! Roman captives journeying for judgment to the mistress of the civilized world—Roman soldiers quitting with reluctant steps the sunny clime of their native land, its orange groves and myrtle bowers, to contend with savages for their barren wastes and wintry skies—Christian penitents wending their way to receive absolution, or punishment, for sins, often more grievous to the stricken conscience than the most painful pilgrimage to the toilworn body,—all passed turn in turn this road during the reigns of the Roman and Papal empire which succeeded it! But of these woful wayfarers few ever suffered more, mentally or corporeally, than the sorrowful individuals who composed this caravan of royal and courtly pilgrims. Even the Marchioness of Susa, influenced probably by the will and interests of the Count de Maurienne, rather than her own desire of aggrandizement, when she refused a passage through her dominions without a pecuniary recompense, was placed by the consanguinity of the rival candidates, Rudolph and Henry, in a most painful position: both were her sons-in-law, and the crown now trembling on the forehead of Bertha, if it fell, she knew, would adorn the brow of her youngest and favourite child Adelaide. A funeral pall of snow was spread in dreary whiteness

over each object as they advanced into the solemn defile of St. Maurice, that most magnificent of nature's portals! fit entrance to the wild kingdom of the Alps, whose savage grandeur it unlocks to the startled sight. The grey shadows of winter blackened the frozen stream of the impetuous Rhone and the congealed surface of the lake. The roaring torrent of the Drance—the murmur of the silver cascade—the cheerful sounds of life in man—in bird—in beast—all were stilled: the silence of death reigned around them.

After encountering incredible fatigue and danger during several days, they attained the summit of the pass; where, in a narrow gorge between high, steep, and overhanging rocks, ever covered with snow, the solitary walls of the monastery of St. Bernard rise darkly from the glaring whiteness of its frozen foundation. Here, under less trying circumstances, they might have found shelter and aid, but it was deserted; the intensity of the cold, and apparent certitude that no traveller could be tempted to ask their assistance, having impelled the suffering monks to return for a short time to their convent at Martigny. And now—nearly nine thousand feet above the level of the sea—suspended between heaven and earth—exposed to the outrageous blasts of winter, where no breathing thing but man can permanently exist—where the frozen ground refuses to shelter the dead—

where no sounds break the silence of this living grave but the awful voice of thunder—the howling of the winds, and the crash of falling avalanches leaping from precipice to precipice—they had to front the horrors and dangers of the descent, tenfold greater than those they had hitherto surmounted. Each jutting crag and pinnacle was covered with a sheet of ice, each narrow tortuous tract so slippery that the greatest caution and skill were often vainly employed to save the foot from gliding. Some of these hapless travellers, thus compelled to brave the difficulties of an alpine passage, and the unparalleled severity of the season, advanced backward, their faces to the rock, dragging themselves by their feet and hands; many were borne on the shoulders of the trembling guides from one chasm to another; several, confiding their souls to God, seated themselves on the glassy slopes, and so slided painfully down these frightful precipices to the bottom—or to eternity; while numbers fell from the very top, never more to rise, into the gulfs below, filling the air with their shrieks, prayers, lamentations, and vain cries for help.*

Of the retinue many had died from cold and fa-

* In winter, when deep snow covers the inequalities of the mountains, villagers and travellers sometimes descend them in a sort of little sledge, guided by a peasant. Lansleburg, at the foot of Mount Cenis, may in this way be reached in ten minutes. The St. Bernard presents more local dangers, and is never thus passed.

tigue during the journey from St. Maurice to the St. Bernard, a distance of nearly forty miles, and all the valuable horses perished, though divers precautions had been taken to save them, by tying some to planks after having confined their feet, and supporting others by cords. But the most distressing feature of this dreadful scene was the presence of the young prince, the empress, her mother, and the ladies composing her suite. The kind of litter in which they had been partly dragged and partly carried from Liddes, where the road becomes progressively and excessively steep till it reaches St. Pierre, was there found, from the increasing depth of the snow and the rapidity of the ascent, utterly useless, and each had to be conveyed to the summit by two guides, somewhat in the manner that ladies are conducted through the romantic passes of the Oberland during the summer now. Dying with cold, exhaustion, and terror, they thus reached the top; and there, clinging to each other in despair, (as they contemplated the descent,) gave way to the bitterest cries and tears. Nor were these ebullitions of grief the mere effusions of feminine cowardice—all would probably have paid the penalty of their temerity with their lives, if the marroniers, whose presence of mind, fortitude, and ingenuity exceed every eulogy, had not resolved to slaughter the oxen taken with them from Vevey to tread the snow. Many had already perished by falls and cold, but seven or eight

remained ; and with the skins yet warm and bleeding, they constructed a species of sledge, on which the empress, marchioness, Clara of Oltingen, and all the other females were alike securely bound by cords. Six of the stoutest and most experienced marroniers were then harnessed to the machine, and steadying themselves with their strong iron-shod alpine staffs, they allowed it to slide down the most dangerous parts of the mountain. This singular and frightful expedient happily succeeded ; the train reached the ground without accident ; and the remnant of the illustrious party at length arrived in the city of Aosta, which owed allegiance to the marchioness of Susa. Here Henry, who never failed in generosity, whatever were his other vices, largely recompensed the marroniers, who had so well redeemed their promises, and had the pleasure of seeing himself soon surrounded by a crowd of Italian bishops and nobles, who, astonished at his boldness in achieving such an entrance into Italy, came to present their homage and offers of service.

Inspired by this reception, the imperial party left the marchioness at Aosta, and in a few days reached Canossa, a strong fortress near Reggio, belonging to the countess Matilda, where Gregory VII. was still sojourning, the guest of this most faithful adherent to his person and pretensions. The empress remained at Reggio, whilst the emperor and other male peni-

tents proceeded to Canossa, where Henry doubtless hoped, after some reprimands and some sacrifices, in addition to the pains and penalties already endured, the promised pardon and absolution would await him. But Henry was only at the commencement of his miserable reign, and knew little as yet of the character of his adversary. He had still to learn the lesson taught in after ages to other hapless monarchs, that men of mean minds, elevated to extraordinary power, have too often a malignant gratification in trampling upon fallen greatness.

The pope's first act, on receiving the intelligence of their arrival, was to throw them all into separate cells, where, without fire, he kept them some days on bread and water. The next command of the carpenter's son of Soane made the scion of so many emperors stand alone, three days, in an outer court or foss of the citadel (within whose triple enclosure of walls he himself remained in silken luxury, enjoying the society of the countess Matilda), exposed to the piercing cold which reigned throughout Europe, clad in no other garb than a penitent's coarse woollen tunic,*

* Un giorno, due e tre, scalzo, coperto d'un sacco di penitenza, digiunando rigorosamente aspetto la decisione del pontefice, mentre dice vaglisi che Matilde egli altri principi s'adoperavano fervorosamente per lui. Era il 26 di gennaio 1077, e agghiadito, livido dall freddo facevalo introdurre Gregorio al suo cospetto, toglievagli l'anatema, parlavagli in questa sentenza.—*Cavato dal Museo Bellisani di Pavia.*

with naked feet, and his discrowned head bare to the bitter blast and driving snow! On the fourth day, 26th of January, 1077, Henry was admitted to the honour of an audience, and, after the most insulting taunts, Gregory vouchsafed to grant the absolution sought with such danger and humiliation. There was indeed an ominous condition, that the emperor should not resume the ensigns of his royal rank till the pope's further pleasure was made known to him; which Henry, naturally frank and thoughtless, acceded to without hesitation, considering it, possibly, a mere form of words, or trifling prolongation of episcopal penance. He returned without suspicion into Germany (unconscious of the danger of being arrested by the emissaries of Matilda, lying in wait to intercept his passage homewards), where he soon discovered that he had merely purchased a truce, not a pardon; till the pope, whose plans were defeated by his unexpected visit, could gain time to concoct others—that the degrading and ignominious treatment he had received, and the debasing concessions he had made, had weakened the attachment of his friends without softening the resentment of his enemies. The cities of Lombardy, over whom the married clergy exercised much control, were especially indignant at his implied approval of the celibacy of the clergy, which the pope was now endeavouring to render of sacred obligation; for though long honoured and recommended, the

brand of infamy was first stamped on marriage under his administration. He had found the gates of Milan shut on his homeward journey, and some other cities talked of deposing him.* In this singular position, environed by opposite dangers, Henry, "preferring, if he must fall, to fall as the defender rather than the betrayer of his imperial rights," withdrew from the treacherous treaty intended to bind him till the plots of his adversaries were more consolidated; and, after a short delay, the pope confirmed the election of Rudolph duke of Swabia by the rebel barons. A Latin verse, importing that he bestowed the crown

* Whilst the Germans, prone to superstition, which ever magnifies the objects she presents to the terrified mind, shrunk from the maledictions of the church, the Italians were generally indignant at the yoke thus attempted to be fixed on the imperial neck. The Spanish nobles and clergy were also very averse from complying with Gregory VII.'s exorbitant pretensions and continual requisitions. The latter persisted in preserving their wives even to the end of the eleventh century, and took so very ill this unpalatable interference with their domestic matters, that many satirical verses were made at his expense. He was further unpopular from his arbitrary abolition of the Gothic prayers, used by the churches of Jerusalem, to bring in the Romish ritual, an innovation resisted by Milan to the present day.—*Histoire d'Espagne, tirée de Mariana.*

Hildebrand résolut de ne plus souffrir d'hommes mariés parmi les ministres des autels; et, d'après ses conseils, Etienne IX. déclara en 1058, que le mariage étoit incompatible avec la prêtrise, que toutes les femmes de prêtres étoient des concubines, &c. &c.—*Histoire des Repub. Italiennes, Sismondi*, vol. i. p. 120.

of Germany, then in his own hands, by virtue of the original commission of St. Peter his predecessor, was the novel mode employed on this extraordinary occasion, by the most unflinching enemy of kingly sway, and almost the least scrupulous asserter of papal domination that ever occupied the chair of the humble fisherman of Galilee.*

All further hope of arrangement between Henry and his enemies was now at an end—the majority of the bishops and abbots, yet his partisans, were driven from their sees; and others, terrified by the

* “*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho.*”

Würstisen, who, like all German chroniclers, is favourable to Henry, thus explains the words of this donation:—

Das ist, Christus die Cron S. Petro gab, Petrus schenckt sie Rudolf dem Schwab.

The opposition of Gregory and his successors to Henry was, from the first, systematical and inextinguishable; it was a stream fed from many sources. Matilda was no longer young, ever at variance with her husband, and childless. Henry stood *heir to* all her immense domains in *Italy*—Mantua, Modena, and Tuscany. The duchy of Spoleto and some other great fiefs also owned her sway, and these were retained by the emperors as such until the twelfth century. That Gregory neither expected nor wished Henry to yield peaceably to his pretensions, is evidenced by the simple fact that he was obliged to supplicate the countess Matilda, the marquis of Este, and the abbot of Clugny, to obtain for him the absolution he had been commanded at such peril to seek, and the pope long resisted their united prayers.—*Sismondi*.

War with the legal inheritor of such fair possessions was far more profitable than any peace could have been.—*Bridel*.

sentence of excommunication, withdrew their allegiance from the temporal sovereign, in order to obey their spiritual one.* But although thus abandoned by some, and deprived of the assistance of others, a band of "good men and true" still rallied round their legitimate master, and nobly resolved to identify their fortunes and lives with his. Of this number the bishops of Basle and Lausanne were distinguished by their early and eager devotion. Both immediately returned into their respective dioceses, and made such preparations for war as the difference in their resources allowed; whilst the head of their race, count Cuno, brother of the bishop of Lausanne, animated by the same sentiments, proceeded to raise troops amongst his serfs and dependencies, in the vicinity of Berne. The bishop of Lausanne, whose princely style of living, and munificent public acts, would have rendered him very popular had he possessed a harem, instead of the one wife permitted by Scripture, had that year rebuilt the walls of the

* Alors commença entre les deux compétiteurs et leurs adhérens, une guerre acharnée qui dura près de trois années presque sans interruption. La Souabe, et l'Helvétie orientale en furent le principal théâtre. Chaque donjon, chaque couvent, et jusqu'aux moindres villages devinrent tour à tour la proie de l'un ou l'autre parti. La Transjurane, cependant, eut moins à en souffrir parce que les Imperiaux y conservèrent un ascendant plus décidé.—*Bernoldus Constant.* p. 54 (Hergott ii. 128.) *J. Bader, der Zæringische Löwe, Fribourg en Brisgau, 1837.* 8°. pp. 23, 24, 25.

ancient city of Avenches, the most considerable Roman colony in western Helvetia ; and to meet the sudden exigencies of this perilous epoch he sold eleven villages belonging to the see ; and, after arming the vassals of the cathedral of Notre Dame, he marched at their head to join the emperor's army in Germany. Whether he thought his opinion had unduly or unfortunately influenced the emperor's councils, or that the humiliations experienced after encountering so many perils on their way to Canossa, or the pope's untiring persecution of the married clergy, had embittered his proud spirit almost to madness, none can now tell ; but from that period, abandoning the mitre for the helmet, and the pastoral crozier for the lance, he was ever to be found on the battle-field fighting by the side of his miserable master, with various success, but always with unshaken courage and fidelity to the latest period of his long-troubled life. Hermanfroi bishop of Sion, chancellor of the kingdom of Burgundy, and Otho bishop of Constance, scarcely less zealous than the two cousins, also furnished more than their contingent of men and money ; and the abbot of St. Gall, although in declining health, exerted himself to evince his loyalty by sending succour to the imperial troops.

Meanwhile Henry, bishop of Coire, a very devout and excellent prelate, ranged himself and vassals on

the side of the pope: he dreaded the horrors of a war of excommunication; and, aware of the licentiousness of many of the clergy, deeming some reform really necessary, espoused the papal party from the same conscientious motives which led many other good men to desert the standard of their legitimate king, in the vain hope that his ruin would bring about the desired reformation.* Against Henry were now in battle-array the potent counts of Kiburg, Toggenburg, Monfort, Nellenburg—the abbot of Reichnau, brother of the latter, and the city of Zurich; whose fidelity to the cause was so great, that the wife of Rudolph, Adelaide of Savoy, there fixed her residence as empress of Germany, when her husband's treason drove her from the domains of her brother-in-law the emperor. Nor was the royal family (as in civil wars is ever the case) the only one separated by this contest into different factions.

* It is somewhat remarkable that throughout this long contest no mention is made of the abbey of Seckingen, near Baden, the head of which was one of the most influential of the ecclesiastical body in Switzerland. It belonged to the Cistercian order. The abbess had the title of princess of the holy Roman empire, and her twenty-four canonesses were required to be of the noblest birth. Perhaps, in consideration of her sex, she was permitted to retain the privilege of neutrality, and thus reaped its blessed harvest of peace. The costume of these patrician canonesses was extremely magnificent; they wore something not unlike the rich rose-coloured silk robes now used by the canons of Pisa on *fête* days.

The count of Dillingen, brother of the count of Kiburg, was so devoted to the emperor Henry, that he enrolled himself in one of the twelve patrician companies, forming a body-guard for that monarch, ready to testify their attachment at the hourly risk of their own lives, whilst their mutual cousin, count Mangold, became the accredited agent between the pope and Rudolph; and so warmly did he espouse the pope's antimatrimonial opinions, that having suddenly lost his young wife, he would never marry again, though in the prime of life, for fear there might be an impropriety in appearing at the tribunal of Christ embarrassed with two women. Another feature, common to such struggles generally, was observable in this; and at a first glance apparently contrary to what might have been expected; the elderly clergy were the most reluctant to conform to the pope's mandate against concubine wives; and the elderly nobles were the firmest supporters of Henry, in despite of his many faults, and the impediments seemingly presented by his opposition to that reform of ecclesiastical abuses so palpably wanted, and so much desired by all really virtuous men. Perhaps the experience of age had taught them the wholesome lesson so useful to states as well as individuals,—that all changes are not improvements; and they might be distrustful of the real motives of a warfare which began by despoiling a sovereign of his rightful throne, or the

salutary effects of a reformation carried on in such a spirit.*

In the midst of this clashing of interests, confusion, and discord, died Ulric, the second abbot of St. Gall. Like all the early heads of that illustrious monastery, he was of noble birth, and attached to the cause of the emperor Henry, from whose father he had received his nomination. The brotherhood immediately despatched a special messenger to the emperor, acquainting him with the event, and praying him to appoint a successor. Henry was in Germany at the head of his troops, and before his reply could be received, the anti-Cæsar Rudolph, with the approval of the pope, hastened to exercise his new functions by naming to the vacant stall a monk called Lutold, a member of the same religious society, not merely without that eminent learning which had hitherto distinguished the abbots of St. Gall, but become personally obnoxious to the rest of the community from his previous adoption of papal views. The indignant brethren rose in a body against this unwel-

* They possibly entertained also some secret doubts whether Gregory's fierce denunciations against the marriage of the clergy, permitted by God himself to Aaron and the priesthood under the first dispensation; and subsequently sanctioned by Christ in the second, did not derive their origin from the same domineering egotistical spirit which forbade ecclesiastics to receive any benefice, even gratis, from the "impure hands of a layman."

come candidate for abbatial honours, forced on them by an usurper, broke publicly in the choir of their church the abbot's staff of office, sent by Rudolph in virtue of his imperial character; and finished their revolt against papal authority by dismissing the pope's commissioners, and banishing Lutold from their walls, as an enemy to the society and traitor to the emperor.*

Soon after this tumultuous scene Henry, having conquered in a battle near Sigmaringen, which obliged his rival to retreat within the walls of Zurich till he could obtain fresh reinforcements from his allies, found time to pass into Thurgovia; and at the close of the year conferred this important benefice upon a distant relative, Ulric, youngest son of Marquard, duke of Carinthia, whose elevation to that dignity by the disgrace of Berthold of Zoeringen, was one of the great political faults of Henry's early reign. He was an ecclesiastic, whose great accomplishments, fine presence, and frank demeanour rendered him extremely acceptable to the monks whom he was destined to govern; and they immediately crowned him in the abbatial church with great pomp.

In the meanwhile Lutold, the *ci-devant* abbot of

* The gift of a ring and crozier from the emperors of Germany was, before the quarrel with Henry, a token that they appointed or accepted the new prelate.

Rudolph's creation, who had taken refuge with the Abbot of Reichnau, found in that violent prelate, pledged to the court of Rome, a warm friend determined to expel Ulric from St. Gall, and reinstate him in its possession.

Eckard, Abbot of Reichnau, thus suddenly converted into an open opponent of the newly-installed Abbot of St. Gall, became, from his obstinacy, rank, and affluence, a most unflinching and formidable adversary. He was the fourth son of Eberhard, count of Nellenburg, just departed, after a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain, (the usual resort of pious pilgrims whose health or finances did not allow them to undertake a journey to Jerusalem,) "in the odour of sanctity," within the walls of his own famous monastery of All Saints at Schaffhausen, of which, resigning his titles and estates to his youngest son, he had constituted himself a simple monk a few years before.* His vast possessions, surrounding a great part of the lake of Con-

* It was almost unique in the beauty and splendour of its decorations. Twelve chapels to the honour of the twelve apostles, twelve altars to other saints, twelve columns of the finest marbles, eighteen feet high, twelve enormous bells, twelve silver chandeliers; are some of the details left to posterity of the magnificent church appended to this celebrated monastery. Its site was thenceforth changed in name from the German Schiffhausen, boatmen's houses, to Schaffhausen, or sheep houses, in allusion to the peaceful habits of the commu-

stance, and stretching to the Danube, gave him great influence over the adjacent territory ; he was descended on the female side from the former race of emperors, and counted amongst his kindred Pope Leo IX., an honour of no light estimation in the eleventh century. His countess, Ida, equally high-born, and equally pious, had united with him in constructing and endowing another religious house, St. Agnes, to which she also retired whilst yet in middle age. Their two eldest sons having died whilst young, one in battle, or by some fatal accident, and the two immediately following in the line of succession being dedicated to the church, Burcard, the fifth child, became heir to the enormous wealth of the family. He was a man of irascible temper, greatly under the direction of his elder brothers, the abbot of Reichnau, and the Archbishop of Trèves, and, like them, devoted to the cause of the pontiff. Many marriages had connected the counts of Nellenburg with the principal families who espoused the interests of Rudolph ; and when the latter nominated Lutold to the abbey of

nity. The coin of the canton is still stamped with a sheep.—*Origine de Schaffouse. Rev. Pastor Bridel, tome ix. p. 1.*

Mons. Bridel, in recounting the riches of this monastery, with his usual impartiality adds—Quoique les couvens ayent leur mauvais côté, comme toutes les institutions humaines, on ne saurait nier qu'ils n'ayent en leur bon côté, surtoit dans le X^e siècle et les deux suivans.—*Ibid.*, tome ix. p. 9.

St. Gall, he had doubtless relied on their aid should it give rise to any contest.*

In pursuance of the abbot of Reichnau's determination to support the pretensions of Rudolph, through the medium of the ex-abbot, he raised troops in the great domains belonging to the abbey of Reichnau on each side of the lake of Constance, and obtained from his brother, the count of Nellenburg, very powerful supplies of men and money, with a promise of personal assistance if necessary. Ulric, on his side, speedily armed the numerous vassals of St. Gall; and soon a sanguinary and obstinate war burst out between the rival abbots, which lasted upwards of fifteen years, spreading misery and desolation on all within its baneful reach.

In the nineteenth century, it is scarcely possible to form a just estimate of the value and importance attached to the possession of a rich abbey in the eleventh. In addition to their spiritual weight as

* In the annals of the monastery of All Saints at Schaffhausen it is recorded, that the day on which the count of Nellenburg was interred near his father, the countess Ida, his mother, then at a very advanced age, who had never left her cell since her profession as a nun, came out of her convent of Saint Agnes, and was rewarded for her long piety by the appearance of her defunct lord. In the first crusade many celebrated persons from Schaffhausen joined the pilgrim band, amongst others Hedwige, a nun of Saint Agnes, who sent relics from Jerusalem to both the institutions of the Nellenburg family there. One was a great stone from the tomb of Christ.

ecclesiastics, the abbots or priors were terrestrial sovereigns of vast tracts of cultivated land around them. Besides the rich endowments of the founders, whole towns and villages bestowed by fierce lords, their former proprietors, in atonement for some crime which lay heavy on the conscience at the hour of death, were frequently given in exchange for masses to mitigate the torments of purgatory. Noble families almost covered with gold the narrow space of earth granted for permission to form a mausoleum within the hallowed walls of the church—the crusader gave one estate for prayers to speed him on his intended journey, and pledged another should he return in safety. A mother, when her son could read his first letter—to write one was yet more uncommon—offered some costly article of jewellery appertaining to the ceremonies of worship ; and the bride failed not to present her propitiatory gift—an altar covering of embroidered silk—a priest's robe of rare lace, or carpet of rich tapestry, frequently the work of her own fair fingers, to obtain a mass for her future happiness. Many persons, of all classes, desirous of living in peace in these turbulent times, put their goods under the sacred protection of monasteries as the most effectual way to preserve a part at least for themselves. Young men educated there, (for they were the schools of by-gone ages,) pledged themselves, should they succeed in life, not to forget their *Alma Mater* ; and many re-

deemed the promise by returning, after a few years of worldly turmoil, to end their days in idleness and seclusion, bringing with them the fruits of former industry. Other men of all ages—cadets of noble houses, destitute of property, and weary of a life of warfare, or repentant of the sins into which such a mode of existence often led them—formed cloisteral societies, and were joined by innumerable pilgrims, who, bringing a portion of the gold, often obtained by predatory exploits, thus hallowed the rest to their own use.

From all antiquity the instinct of happiness has led good men to meditate on the origin of evil, and the means of subduing its progress both in themselves and others; whilst the intimate consciousness of a secret proneness to fall into temptation when exposed to trial, has prompted a desire to escape by retirement from the dangers of the world. The Jews had their chosen sanctuaries, and the moderation and simplicity of the Christian system admit of so many different interpretations, so many different views, that the sincere attempts of all to promulgate what they think may bring about the desired object,—peace in this world and felicity in the next,—are worthless of the respect of those who yet entertain different opinions as to the measures adopted to obtain pearls of such inestimable price.

The idea of a convent is that of the common life of

virtuous or sorrowful persons, voluntarily withdrawing into a holy retreat, there to enjoy in peaceful leisure community with God, occupied only with the affairs of this world so far as they may conduce to the well-being of their suffering fellow mortals still struggling with the wants and woes they have eluded. A beautiful conception of the human mind would indeed have been realized could such an institution have been carried into execution; but, alas! the very imperfection of man's nature, never to be wholly put off till mortality shall have put on immortality, has too often defeated the wishes of the founders of monastic edifices, and rendered them the seats of violence and voluptuousness—the arena of all those passions they were intended to extinguish. Not such, however, is the history of all; many nobly persevered in their painful course of self-denial till death, to them no grim messenger, came to terminate their labours and herald them to a happier state of existence.

The Swiss as a nation are borne to piety and religious speculations by the sublime scenery which meets the eye at its very entrance into life. Cold and dreary must be the heart not moved to holy awe by the sight of eternal snows pinnacled on the rocky mountains which girdle their father-land—by the crash of the falling avalanche, or the roar of the raging torrent—by the softer beauty of their blue

lakes and flowery meadows, and by all the wild legends of saints, and fairies, and spirits, crowded together in the imagination which has been cradled in the alpine wonders of nature. It is probably in part to this cause that the religious endowments of Switzerland have ever been remarkable for their riches and power; but there was yet another of still greater influence—the country was governed by a multitude of petty princes, each desirous of preserving *intact* the splendour of the *heads* of their race, by discouraging marriage amongst the younger children: it was far less expensive, and less degrading, to consign them with a rich dotation to a monastery, than to allow them by intermarriages to raise up a succession of poor collateral branches, always wanting aid from the representative of the stock, and continually in danger of lowering its ancient dignity by filling humble situations, and contracting plebeian alliances. Two sons and a single daughter were the usual family complement at home—the rest, male and female, generally remained in the institution where they were educated, unless personal beauty or decided talents gave the assurance that they might add to, rather than diminish the family consequence. The position of the brothers was, however, infinitely less onerous than that of the sisters. They could not indeed marry, but they often came out of their monasteries to become the private secretaries of

noblemen, or the tutors of the young heir by whose interest they sometimes obtained valuable benefices, and were thus enabled to escape from the confinement of a cloister whilst bound by its obligations.

The sons and daughters of kings not unfrequently, led by the piety or superstition of the age, sought the shade of a conventual life ; and the affection of parents then endowed the chosen retreat with enormous wealth and princely privileges. Many abbots and abbesses were termed royal, and besides the customary immunities of their position, had the power of coining money—of naming the president and assessors of the tribunals of justice—were represented in parliaments, if not sitting in person ; and, in fine, virtually exempt from every restraint or privation but that of celibacy. Such was the position of the abbess of Frauen-Munster, at Zurich, founded by Louis of Germany in 853, for his two daughters Hildegard and Bertha ; the former of whom was the first abbess, and obtained the honour of canonization. At the installation of this abbess, and her successors, the nobles brought great presents, as to an hereditary sovereign—wine, cloth, white bread : all the civil affairs of the country depended on her—her *advocates* holding the assizes and administering justice in her name.

At this critical epoch, among the numerous religious endowments of Helvetia, the abbeys of St. Gall and

Reichnau ranked the highest. Einsiedeln, since so famous, was not founded until three hundred years after that of St. Gall; and nearly two subsequent to the erection of Reichnau. Both owed their origin to Charles Martel, in the 8th century, the true king maker of France; for although St. Gall dates from his father Pepin d'Héristel, and owes its name to a Scotchman of royal birth, who died 650, it is certain the abbey was unbuilt at his death, though some eminent school might have already existed on its site; nor can any abbot be traced higher than the early part of the 8th century. St. Gall had, however, acquired a great character for sanctity when Reichnau was comparatively unknown, and soon obtained a reputation for literature that rendered it one of the most distinguished societies in Europe. The monks were under the rule of the Benedictines, which has ever been famed for its love of science, and for nearly three hundred years there was held within its walls a kind of academy, which produced many learned men when the rest of Switzerland lay buried in dense ignorance. It became the asylum of learning from the dark era of its foundation, and the two still darker ages that followed. From their chronicle the major part of authentic Swiss history is drawn; and their love of knowledge led them to form a museum of natural curiosities, enriched with the relics of Roman domination, the first ever known in Helvetia. So

early as 816, Gosport, the second abbot, had amassed a very rare and extensive library, at that period of inestimable worth: and to their noble exertions posterity is indebted for the preservation of many of the best classical authors, — Homer, Pindar, Quintilian, Cicero. Here also the authors of Rome and Greece were not only read but copied: the writing of the monks of St. Gall, that most invaluable accomplishment when printing had not yet enlightened the world, was exquisitely fine, and many possessed the sister art of embellishing their MSS. by illumination. Nor was their learning debased by the mean selfish pedantry, which would desire to confine all information to the necessarily narrow circle of those enabled to obtain a classical education: they reduced into the vulgar tongue many parts of the Bible, especially the Psalms and Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. They did not fear to dispute on the canons of Holy Scripture, skilfully separating the inspired from the apocryphal portion, and bestowing on the sublime poetry of the one and the beautiful moral lessons of the other, their due meed of judicious criticism. They did not fear to doubt (that beginning and proof of wisdom), neither were they afraid that by winnowing the chaff from the wheat the good grain would be endangered. Greek was not unknown to them, says one of its chroniclers, though the ancient poets appeared to some of the old monks “very useless”—

many, however, knew Virgil by heart, considering his subjects those appertaining to life. Soloman, Bishop of Constance, and Abbot of St. Gall, about the early part of the tenth century, one of the most wonderful men that ever adorned a cloister, judged, it is said, the works of the fathers of the Church with a *modern* spirit; he sometimes read extracts from them to the two emperors Otho the Great and his son, whose visit to St. Gall has been minutely detailed in the many chronicles written by different members of the confraternity. They compiled also Latin grammars; and the story of the adventures of the duke of Swabia, in Latin verse, was subsequently composed by a monk named Odo. The ponderous shelves of their library contained MSS. in all living tongues—Romansch, still used in the Grisons—the Romance of the Pays, (now) Canton-de-Vaud—Swabian, the dialect of the cantons of Bâsle, Thurgovia, Berne, Zurich, and province of Wurtemberg—with German and French. Italian was not yet fixed on so solid a basis as to be written. The Adventures of Alexander the Great, in Latin, and the *Nibelungen Lied*, more esteemed at that very early period than subsequently when its curious legends were become yet further removed from living manners, were familiar to these admirable men; and visitors from all countries, even England, Ireland, and Scotland, brought, from

time to time, their literature to this mart of erudition, perhaps the most ancient ecclesiastical establishment in Europe, between the 8th and 11th centuries.

Although St. Gall had not yet reached to the pinnacle of its earthly grandeur, one hundred monks of noble birth, with the same number of novices, usually resided in the convent, besides many young nobles, who were principally sent there, in preference to any other, for education. The endowments of the foundation were ample, but much inferior to those of Reichnau; and the style of living was so hospitable, that the enormous expenditure could scarcely have been met without the collateral aid derived from the presence of the illustrious pupils who crowded to its walls. The reputation of St. Gall for miracles, which made it the resort of thousands of pilgrims the first hundred years after the death of St. Gallus, a Scotch monk, reported to have left his convent in the island of Iona in the Hebrides, ceased after learning became the occupation of the monks; but its members ranked very high for morality; and as the school which formed the minds, and consequently influenced the future conduct and opinion of the nobility, the appointment of abbot was considered one of pre-eminent importance.

In the neighbourhood of Constance, the lake is divided into two arms by a pretty promontory, and

on each of these arms rises a most picturesque island : the one to the east is small, but that on the western branch, much larger and more fertile, was selected in 724 by Charles Martel for the foundation of a monastery of the Benedictine order, and without ever acquiring a reputation for imposing discipline, or profound learning, the original endowment was so magnificent, and succeeding donations rendered it so rich, that in a little time the name was changed from Sintlesaw to *Au la Riche*, or *Reichnau*, in allusion to its almost unparalleled wealth. The abbey counted five hundred gentlemen amongst its feudal vassals ; had sixty thousand guldens of rent paid in bullion, and the estates belonging to it were so numerous and extensive, that, it is said, the abbot on his way to Rome could so arrange his journey as to sleep every night on his own domains. It ranked as the richest institution in Europe : the haughty abbot soon claimed equality with his predecessor in precedence at St. Gall, and after the miserable emperor Charles the Fat was interred in the abbatial church in 887, he took a still higher station among his brother prelates, over whom he exercised great sway. The treasury, like that of St. Gall, was full of votive offerings of the noble and the pious ; and possessed, among other articles of reputed inestimable value, an emerald of enormous magnitude given by Charlemagne, with all good faith on his side, but which sceptical chymists

of wicked modern days have pronounced to be, like the *catino*, or famous emerald dish in the cathedral of Genoa, a clever fraud. But this flaw in its escutcheon was unsuspected at the time, and the composition therefore served the purpose.

Such were the establishments of St. Gall and Reichnau: learning was the distinctive feature of the one, riches of the other, when they became the seats of rival abbots, each of whom it may be said was the chief of an opposite party in church and state. St. Gall refused to acknowledge any temporal monarch but the emperor Henry. Reichnau embraced the illegitimate sovereign imposed by a faction in Germany, sustained by papal power in Italy; and the two men thus thrown into positions so dissimilar, were in character as widely dissevered.

Eberhard, abbot of Reichnau, the son of parents imbued with the darkest superstition of the age, whose father, after a painful pilgrimage on foot into Spain, which shortened his existence, had died a simple monk in an establishment founded by himself, and whose mother was then a common nun, in another of most rigid rule also built by herself—the brother of an archbishop of harsh temper, and of the Count of Nellenburg, a young man destined to obtain for himself the unenviable title of Attila of Helvetia, seems to have partaken in some degree of the gloomy and violent natures of his family. Destined to a

religious life from his birth, he had probably spent the greater part of his life in a cloister; and, although possessed of a considerable share of learning, seems to have been little desirous of rendering the monastery, over which he presided, distinguished for a literary reputation. He had, however, governed Reichnau two years only when this war broke out, and his administration of conventual affairs was so free from reproach, that had not evil passions been brought out by party feelings into full play, he might have sailed down the stream of life both a better and happier man. He was in many points not unworthy of his rank: moral and decorous, magnificent in dress, dignified in deportment, sumptuous and hospitable in his mode of living, he exercised, though without the popular virtues of his rival, great influence over his friends and the adjacent country.

Ulric of Eppenstein, on the contrary, had mingled much in the chivalrous society of the age—his manners were refined by the polish of a court, for his father's duchy was so distant from the imperial residences, it might be considered a sovereignty in that extensive circle, and all historians coincide in representing him as a man singularly fitted for fulfilling with grace, dignity, and efficiency, the important appointment to which the favour of the emperor, with the glad concurrence of the confraternity, had raised him. He was lettered and elegant—rode with

boldness and grace—spoke many living languages, and had a taste for the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and music. But these were not his principal claims to admiration, dazzling as they were, in an age of general ignorance. Above avarice, and the other passions often engendered by rank and riches; with the freedom of a profession which exempted him from the restraints of married life, without confining him to the seclusion of a cloister, of stainless purity; superior to his contemporaries by his understanding and knowledge; the influence which he acquired over the minds and hearts of all with whom he had alliance was the main foundation on which his precarious position rested, in the long struggle for supremacy that ensued between him and his far more powerful antagonist.

“Ulric of Eppenstein,” says a living Swiss historian,* whose talents, patriotism, and virtues, have for more than half a century rendered him justly dear to his country, “occupies without dispute the first rank in the long list of the abbots of St. Gall;” and the testimony of an old German chronicler is, that “although many of the abbots of St. Gall had surpassed him in monastic exercises, he had the heart of a prince—was wise, eloquent, and learned—alike skilful in the arrangement and execution of the mighty

* The Reverend Philip Bridel, pastor of the lovely village of Montreux in the Canton-de-Vaud.

projects his genius suggested." He did not decline honours or wealth, for he knew their preponderating weight in society, their power for good or for evil; but he was not avaricious of their attainment. He was naturally simple in his habits, and temperate in his repasts—the enemy of voluptuousness and disorder; but his penetrating spirit, aware that the prestiges of grandeur give it more force over vulgar or inferior minds, rendered him scrupulously attentive to the etiquettes of dress, and observances peculiar to his high office, when the war, so unhappily lighted up between the two monasteries, left him leisure to attend to the tranquil duties of the abbot of St. Gall. Like all men of strong intellect, no ordinary difficulties embarrassed him, and when he had once decided on his course hesitation was at an end. Prompt in the execution of his projects, as he was generally happy in their conception, to doff off his mitre and *rochet*—to brace on his helmet and coat of mail—fling aside his crozier and grasp his trusty lance, leap from his episcopal throne to his war charger, occupied small time; and surrounded by a long train of grim-looking, but good-humoured soldiers, ever ready to do his bidding, the warrior prelate would gaily sally out of his walls to give battle to his adversaries before they imagined he had received information of their hostile approach, or that he was contemplating an aggressive visit to them. His defects were those of his

times, which saw no want of harmony between a military and a militant course—his virtues were his own.

At this critical moment in the affairs of the emperor, when the sudden rallying of his friends made the struggle between him and the pope doubtful, the smallest vibration of the balance became of equal importance to each faction: the abbeys of St. Gall and Reichnau were, from their peculiar circumstances, the brightest jewels in the ecclesiastical mitre of Helvetia; and the contending rivals for the empire, actuated by the same spirit, simultaneously determined, at whatever risk or sacrifice, not to abandon their respective champions in the ensuing struggle for supremacy. Both the competitors were young—both alike forgot that they were the ministers of a God of peace—both belonged to the same monastic order—both trod under foot the rules of that order which expressly forbade any monk from bearing arms—both were imbued with the learning of their age—both of noble birth, of high stature, and princely presence—both were fertile in resources, full of spirit and activity—both were sustained by illustrious relations, and powerful friends; and both were animated by a secret conviction that they were fighting for a crown rather than a mitre—that on the success of the game they were playing in Helvetia depended interests of far mightier magnitude—the papal or imperial dominion. “Like Pompey and Cæsar,” says a chro-

nicler of this epoch, "Eckard, abbot of Reichnau, would have no equal, and Ulric, abbot of St. Gall, acknowledge no master."*

To add to the obstinacy and bitterness of this feud the two monasteries were scarcely twenty miles apart : each day, each hour of the day, the chiefs, or their adherents, were liable to come into collision ; and the skirmish which terminated favourably for one side in the evening, might be renewed for the advantage of the loser in the morning. Whilst the parties were however thus, at a first glance, on a footing of equality, the sagacious mind of the abbot of St. Gall must have been aware when he "sat down to count the cost of this battle," that his chances of conquest, unless most efficiently assisted by his allies, could be but small as compared with those of Reichnau. He was indeed, in great measure, sovereign of St. Gall and Appenzell ; and possessed some estates in the vicinity of the lake of Constance. He had also valuable fiefs in Swabia, Germany Proper, and Alsace, held under the respective sovereigns of those kingdoms ; many of them granted to the early monks of his monastery as a recompense for bringing the arts of civilization and cultivation into their dominions. But his revenues from them might be compromised by the contest ; and at home his territories, though extensive, consisted

* "Comme Pompée et César, dit un chroniqueur, Echard ne voulait point d'égal et Ulrick ne voulait de maitre."

chiefly of large tracts of wild, waste, and barren mountain. The feudal vassals of the monastery were rather in ease than affluence ; and, although some of the herdsmen of these Alpine regions ranked as very rich, their patriarchal wealth lay in cattle, not bullion ; —all alike could be constrained to a military service of forty days only in every year, and all were equally unused to bear arms.

The position of the convent also was singularly exposed to the assaults of an invading foe ; for the holy hermit St. Gall had appropriately chosen its rugged site in the 7th century merely as a fit retreat for prayer and solitude. The extensive conventual buildings, erected, with no view to defensive warfare, in the very heart of a small town, first built for the wants of pilgrims who crowded to the shrine of St. Gall, was then rising into opulence by their gifts and visits. Nothing but continuous industry could overcome the niggardliness of nature around, nor make atonement for the loss of those welcome visitors when driven away by war. The walls were tolerably strong, but placed in a narrow sterile valley between two mountains enclosing it in all its length from north to south ; with a savage open country from east to west, it was liable both to pillage from a numerous army, and the horrors of famine from one determined to cut off supplies from without.

Reichnau had none of these evils to fear : the

lovely island, still the admiration of the delighted stranger passing its fertile banks, was then a cultivated garden of at least three miles in length: the lake and the Rhine swarmed with the most delicate fish; it was surrounded by strong fortifications, and communicated with a rich and populous city, full of the luxuries of life, by a strong bridge flanked at its own extremity by a stout fortress, commanding a heavy gateway with its portcullis. The bishop of Constance, friendly to the emperor Henry, had soon been driven out of his insecure castle, and was then an exile in Italy: the see was now occupied by a hot partisan of the pope, and whatever influence he possessed would of course be given to his neighbour and friend the abbot of Reichnau; and for miles around the country belonged to nobles adverse to Henry. Amongst those who especially distinguished themselves by their rancorous hostility, stood Diethelm, of Toggenburg. The counts of Toggenburg were not only rich in land, and formidable by their numerous castles and connexions, but by their power over the rising commerce of the country. All Italian merchants passed between their *châteaux* of Uzenberg and Grynau, to gain the lake of Zurich, where great industry in silks, cottons, woollen goods, and tannery prevailed. And from this little secure realm merchandise passed into the marches of the Counts of Rapperschwyl, on the lake, where at the narrowest part near the isles of Uffnau and Lützelau, the bank

was protected by the castle of their name. The Barons of Toggenburg were a proverbially fierce race, whose dogged courage no dangers could awe, nor public opinion control.* Rudolph, the anti-Cæsar, as count of Rheinfelden, considered the richest subject of his period, had immense paternal property at Augst, and other portions of the canton of Basle. The Abbot of Schaffhausen, though a moderate and learned man, well disposed in his heart to St. Gall, was necessarily under the control of the family who had founded his house, and by their bounty rendered it scarcely inferior to Reichnau. He possessed all the lands near the celebrated cataract of Schaffhausen, besides numerous estates in other cantons, the donations of rich nobles who patronised his monastery. The duke of Zœringen, lord of the wild country on which Berne and Friburg were a hundred years afterwards constructed, by his descendant, Berthold V., with enormous possessions in Germany, and the city of Zurich, added their heavy weight to the load against their legitimate monarch. But Ulric of

* Count Henry of Toggenburg, grandson of the abbot's opponent, threw his young wife Ida, 1142, from the window of his château on a mere suspicion of infidelity; and tortured to death a page, whom, as he had found a ring she lost he imagined to be the object of her guilty attachment. Ida survived the fall: lived unknown some years, and when discovered, would never more return to him. She founded a convent near the place of her concealment, and there took the veil.—*Tschudi*.

Eppenstein's was a mind framed for exertion and enterprise—not despair, and he set himself to the arduous task he had to overcome. His first efforts were directed to the reparation of the walls that girded the town of St. Gall, and the provisioning of the convent, that he might be enabled to resist any attempt at a siege till he could receive some assistance promised by his father, the duke of Carinthia : and his next, to the erection of a small castle at Kraetsern, a little hamlet belonging to the convent. The emperor was fighting step by step with Rudolph, rendered doubly confident of ultimate success by recent advantages over Henry's troops ; and, should the emperor fall in some of the continual combats in which he was personally engaged, the abbot judged it wise to have some secure shelter for himself till the first triumph of his enemies had passed away.

It appears that the abbot of Reichnau commenced the first hostile movement by suddenly advancing with a considerable body of troops to within half a league of St. Gall : there he halted ; remained a day ; and then, impelled either by prudence, or the advice of peaceful councillors, retreated without making the meditated attack. Perhaps he was desirous that Ulric should march to meet him ; but the courage of the abbot was not devoid of discretion, and the fine sagacity which, it is said, seldom deceived him in his estimation of the character of those he chose for

friends, or agents, taught him that a system of defence, not aggression, was his safest policy; and controlling his naturally fiery valour, he permitted his rival to stay as long as he pleased without molestation, and depart in peace at his own time.

It would seem as if these two men, so proud—so able—so ambitious—so equal in rank—so opposite in all other things, fascinated by the consciousness of each other's power, were fearful of rousing the spirit which yet slumbered in their bosoms—dreaded to hurl the definitive blow that would bring on the contest, which must test their respective strength.* In the ranks of Reichnau was, however, a traitorous foe to St. Gall; whose heart, envenomed by party feelings, triumphed over the most sacred duties, and brought on the conflict from which the principals appeared to recede. The baron of Ravensberg, holding the high hereditary office of *advocatus* to the monastery of St. Gall, after hesitating a short time between the claims of the emperor Henry and the pretensions of Rudolph, went over to the side of the latter; withdrew his allegiance from Ulric; and espousing the cause of his new allies, with all the warmth usual to

* There is in Germany a wild superstitious belief, that the spirit which dwells in each earthly bosom has a *presentiment* of the power of others.

Goëthe has finely illustrated this idea: "My spirit quails before thine."

political turn-coats, suddenly marched at the head of some chosen troops to Kraetsern, where the abbot was in person inspecting the progress of his little castle.* It was probable that the abbot had, by means of spies, received some intimation of this apparently unexpected attack, for he had so considerable a force within reach, that after several hours of very serious fighting, the perjured advocate was compelled to withdraw, leaving many slain and numerous prisoners behind him.

Although this first encounter had terminated in his favour, the abbot of St. Gall deemed it wiser to abandon the completion of his projected castle; and also a fort nearly finished on the Rheinthal, undertaken with a view to the security of some monastic property in that vicinity. He was sensible that mere courage must be uselessly opposed to overwhelming

* "The rich abbeys elected an advocate, whose business it was to defend their interests, both in secular courts, and, if necessary, in the field. Pepin and Charlemagne are styled *Advocates* of the Roman Church. This indeed was on a magnificent scale; but in ordinary practice, the advocate of a monastery was some neighbouring lord, who, in return for his protection, possessed many lucrative privileges, and, very frequently, considerable estates by way of fief from his ecclesiastical clients. Some of these advocates are reproached with violating their obligation, and becoming the plunderers of those whom they had been retained to defend."—*Hallam*.

Rudolf of Habsburg, and his son the emperor Albert, were subsequently advocates of St. Gall.

numbers; and from inclination and policy he was strongly inclined to peace. His troops at this time were merely composed of the vassals of the abbey, who owed him a gratuitous service of forty days only in virtue of their fiefs; a small corps of foreigners in his private pay; with a few auxiliaries furnished, some by the duke of Carinthia, and the rest by nobles friendly to the emperor.

A year had thus nearly passed in a sort of armed neutrality, when the abbot of Reichnau, perhaps uncertain what plan he ought to adopt, was desirous of a personal interview with the pope; and, relying on the protection of Rudolph's troops, scattered over various parts of Italy, ventured to undertake a journey to Rome. Henry's visit to Canossa was scarcely less unadvised, and for the moment not so unfortunate to him. On arriving at San Domino he was arrested by a band of soldiers in the pay of the emperor Henry, and with all his suite conveyed to a strong castle belonging to the bishop of Parma, one of the many Italian prelates who continued faithful to his cause. Here he was kept a close prisoner, though treated with respect, for nearly two years, during which period the exasperation of his mind brought on a severe nervous affection: he became melancholy; refused to take food; and, at this remote epoch, when all general information was received through the doubtful channel of pilgrims, and pedlars, a

report prevailed in both Italy and Germany, that he had died in confinement.

In tracing the history of individuals whose actions have been laid bare by time, often opening alike their causes and consequences, the mind is forcibly struck by the *want* in some of that wisdom which Seneca defines as "a right understanding, a faculty of discerning good from evil—what is to be chosen and what rejected."—And in the detail of the obstinate contest between the rival abbots of St. Gall and Reichnau, the marked ascendancy of the former seems to have mainly proceeded from his superiority in this particular over Reichnau. Either led away by his impetuous passions, or too confident in his own importance, Eckard of Nellenburg was continually taking some important, and, as it subsequently proved, very false step. His journey to Rome was one of those destined to darken his future days by its ill success and imprudence. He left his monastery, virtually, unprotected by the presence of a legitimate master, and exposed himself to the very danger which the pontifical envoys, sent by Gregory to be present at the formal election of Rudolph had just been unable to escape. The abbot of Marseilles, with a learned Italian ecclesiastic, afterwards bishop of Aversa, accompanied by six hundred monks selected from different convents to grace the ceremony, were on their return seized upon by the old count Arnold

of Lenzburg, lord of Baden and baron of Zug, a staunch friend of Henry's, and by him kept captives in his strong castle of Lenzburg, till exchanged for double the number of prisoners taken by the pope and his party—besides the payment of a large ransom.

The emperor, who was then in Germany, delighted at this peaceable termination of the abbots' war, without troubling himself to investigate the truth of the rumour, lost no time in conferring the vacant abbey on Ulric, as a recompense for his past fidelity, and a means of strengthening his own party. There was no impropriety in this selection; pluralities were exceedingly common—religious houses especially often depended on each other, owning one chief; and benefices lying close together were obviously less obnoxious to censure than distant preferments, which precluded the possibility of equal care in their government. The most splendid abbot St. Gall ever saw at its head, Soloman, was also abbot of Reichnau and Bishop of Constance, besides possessing nine other ecclesiastical benefices in the shape of priories, abhacies or rectories. Still nothing could have proved more unfortunate than this nomination, however natural, on Henry's side; it envenomed the hatred of the papal party, and caused innumerable calamities to the adjacent countries. Without waiting for the pope's authorization to reign over his two monastic kingdoms, Ulric

joyfully accepted the new honour, which he considered a gold mine sprung for the benefit of himself and master ; but he soon found he should be obliged to take possession of the territory by force before he could work the ore ; and, as a preliminary step, he put a garrison into the fertile island on which it was built. Then appeared for the first time prominently in this scene of strife and warfare, Berthold, duke of Zœringen. He was the personal enemy of Ulric, whose father had accepted, or, as he said, wrested the duchy from himself. Affecting, or really disbelieving the report of the abbot of Reichnau's death, in Italy, he collected a numerous army, and marched upon St. Gall. The intrepid abbot assembling in haste a few scattered troops and vassals, went boldly out of his monastery to meet him ; and, after a fierce skirmish half a mile from the terrified town, which cost the lives of many adherents on either side, compelled him to evacuate the whole of Thurgovia, and retire into the Brigau. The duke in revenge then directed his army to Vissnegge, a patrimonial estate left to the abbot by the duke of Carinthia just deceased, set fire to the château in which he first saw the light, pillaged all the lands belonging to the abbey of St. Gall beyond the Rhine, and appropriated the revenues to himself ; so that for several years afterwards the monks obtained absolutely nothing from them either in money, corn, or wine. Guelf, duke

of Bavaria, with his house, ever attached to the interests of the pope, and many other lords imitated this example of the duke of Zœringen, confiscating everything which belonged to St. Gall in their dominions, and bestowing on their own dependants, as fiefs, the lands and vineyards that the monks had been encouraged to bring into cultivation under their own auspices. Reduced, by these continued aggressions, to extreme indigence, the hapless cenobites were at length compelled, in order to procure the bread necessary for their very existence, to have recourse to the costly objects which decorated their beautiful church, especially valuable to the community as gifts, in many instances, of the princes and nobles educated at St. Gall.

Among many other splendid articles enumerated in the chronicles of St. Gall, as sold or pledged at this season of absolute want, were the thick plates of silver which covered the high altar, the pulpit, and four columns of the nave. Ten tables, fourteen lamps, several crowns, richly gilt, and set with precious stones; a funereal urn, all of solid silver; a chalice of amber, of most elaborate workmanship, encircled with diamonds; seventeen priests' robes, embroidered with gold and pearls, besides an infinity of other sacred ornaments for the person, of lace, and cambric, and brocade, crosses, and rings. There were two *encensoirs* of gold of great price, with a

hundred minor articles, also of exceeding value ; such as cups, patins, candlesticks, and croziers, bestowed by the emperors, kings, prelates, and nobles, who had visited this favourite community, so illustrious by its learning and purity of morals.*

In the midst of all these mortifications and privations, the abbot retained his dignified position at the head of his convent, without quailing before any of his enemies, till, having at length, in 1079, obtained some strong reinforcements from the emperor and his brother, he attacked right and left the nobles who supported, in his vicinity, the pretensions of Rudolph, or those of the absent abbot of Reichnau. He invaded, pillaged, burnt, or razed to the ground, five castles of prodigious strength—made prisoners, and ransomed at a high price the count of Bregentz, one of the most puissant barons of Swabia—set fire to the town and fortress of Kyburg, the residence of count Hartmann, a foe of the emperor, though a relation, and in an ambuscade seized upon his son, together with a rich booty which the young lord was conveying away for safety to another of his father's strongholds in the mountainous country which acknowledged them as sovereigns. On his return from this unusually prosperous expedition, he constructed, with a part of the count of Kyburg's

* One chalice at St. Gall weighed seventy marks of silver and one of gold.

gold, two forts, for the protection of St. Gall ; but soon perceiving that, if they should fall by any sudden *coup-de-main* into the possession of the confederate barons, they might prove eminently injurious to him, he withdrew their garrison, and dismantled them. Great in all things, it is said, he displayed such extraordinary genius in his military evolutions, that the dismayed barons of the eleventh century, astounded at his tactics, were sometimes in doubt whether the warrior prelate received aid from his patron St. Gall, or a far more redoubtable but less holy assistant. Despite, however, of these occasional triumphs, the abbot, aware of his precarious situation, in the midst of enemies so powerful and inveterate in their hostility to both the emperor and himself, felt the need of some place more secure than his monastery, and removing the materials of his ruined forts to Rachenstein, in the neighbouring mountains of Appenzell, he there constructed a small but solid castle on the summit of a very steep rock, surrounded by a chain of rugged precipices, all nearly as difficult of access as the one he had chosen for its site. A country which offers only rocks, and torrents, and solitary pasturages, and thick forests of dark pine, is in its very nature a fortress against foreign foes ; and here, at the end of the campaign, he found it necessary to retire, after making such arrangements for the government of St. Gall as might best befit present

circumstances. Of the monastery of Reichnau he had not yet made himself master, nor had he any apparent prospect of ever doing so, for the duke of Zœringen was in actual possession, governing with a talented monk named Verinhar in the name of Eckard of Nellenburg, whose fate was still a mystery. In this solitary retreat he sustained unharmed the attacks of several different opponents. The want of gunpowder (then happily unknown) rendered such positions generally impregnable whilst provisions remained to the besieged, and from the battlements and tiny towers of his little citadel, the abbot welcomed all hostile visitors with such showers of arrows, and stones, and hot water, as they toiled, perfectly unprotected, up the steep ascent leading to his eagle's nest, that none were found ambitious of adventuring a second time within his precincts. Meanwhile the vassals of St. Gall, fatigued and impoverished by this long war, refused to continue their service unless they received regular pay; and as money was the thing of all others the abbot most lacked, they finally returned to their homes.

Thus left in the wild country of Rachenstein, with a small number only of faithful soldiers, Ulric could no longer shut his eyes to the conclusion that his anticipations of efficient succour in the prosecution of this war had been founded on kind words—temporary props offered by the heart, not the hand of

friendship—to encourage or support him from sinking into despondency in so arduous a struggle—and his gallant spirit began to flag. Storms of sleet and snow, with that dense icy-cold wind, known throughout Switzerland as the *bise*, often sweep this bleak region, chilling with a withering touch the heart even more than the frame. He was perched on the summit of a steep rock, rising from a deep sombre dell, and the rugged tower cast its dark shadow far over the surrounding chain of barren hills. The roads that conducted to it from the distant villages were tangled, intricate, and mountainous; and, save by some bewildered traveller or occasional pilgrim, the loneliness of this little fortress was rarely invaded; for pedlars were cautious of exposing themselves and packs in such localities, lest board and lodging for life in a dungeon might be the sole payment given in exchange for the rifled contents of the latter. It was precisely the spot which proffered rest to one weary of the tumult and contentions of the world, and for whom that world had no more attractions. But this was not the abbot's situation; his heart lay among his monks; he panted to reign again in St. Gall; to lead on his gallant liege-men in defence of his rights and those of the emperor. Inaction was, to one of his muscular frame and enterprising mind, ardent in all things, the worm that gnawed at his vitals, and threw a gloomy tinge over his buoyant spirit. He lost his

taste for study, and frequently passed whole days in wandering over the barren mountains which cradled his solitary abode ; or, seated on some lofty pinnacle, from whence he could survey all the approaches to his aërial castle, a prey to sorrow and anxiety.

A great mind is never indifferent to the beauty of social order, or to the happiness of others. The consequences of this minor struggle between the enemies of the emperor and himself had already been fatal to the lives and fortunes of thousands of harmless peasants, whose existence was bound up in that of the barons, to whom they owed allegiance. Henry, bishop of Coire, whose adoption of papal views was the result of a conscientious wish for the repression of ecclesiastical abuses, had just died broken-hearted, an exile : the whole of Rhetia, with few exceptions, declared for Henry ; and the bishop's failure in fidelity to him was punished by the spoliation and pillage of his miserable flock ; as, turn in turn, the barbarous troops in his pay, or in that of the barons adverse to Gregory, passed through the defenceless towns and villages, so utterly devastated and neglected, that no bishop was even appointed to the vacant see for more than twelve months after the death of the bishop of Coire, in Italy, was known. The death of the anti-Cæsar, Rudolph, killed at the bloody battle of Merseburg, and the deposition of Gregory VII., events which it might have been hoped

would make a favourable change in the affairs of the emperor, had produced no cessation of hostilities.* From his retreat at Salerno the banished pope fulminated the legitimate thunders of St. Peter against his antichrist successor, Clement III., and his supporters, whilst the insurgent aristocracy of Germany immediately raised Hermann of Luxemburg, count of Salmes, to the vacant dignity of rival to their sovereign.

The town and convent of St. Gall were fast sinking into ruin. The shoals of pilgrims in the habit of bringing wealth to the various artisans of rosaries, crosses, little images, and other such holy devices by their purchases, and to the rest of the inhabitants by their sojourn, not willing to obtain the honours of martyrdom from the lawless soldiery of the barons, always prowling about, turned their steps to convents less exposed to the ravages of war; whilst, for the same reason, the noble youths, accustomed to receive education in the monastery, were obliged to select some other establishment. The affairs of the emperor were unimproved, requiring alike his own unceasing exertions and those of his adherents; and the duke of Carinthia was so distant, that assistance from him was equally uncertain,

* Un événement favorable à Ulrick, fut la mort de l'usurpateur Rudolph, à la suite de la bataille de Mersburg.—*Conservateur Suisse.*

and long in coming. The abbot, of a noble and generous nature, and gifted with a keenness of perception which made him see, at a glance, all the evils which had already environed, and might still follow so complicated and disastrous a contest, felt doubtful, not as to the justice of his cause, but the propriety of its defence. It is possible he might feel his conscience shrink from the weight and responsibility attached to this wearisome conflict; for who has not, if exposed to long struggles with contending interests, even in private life, or ever recurring obstacles—who has not, when looking back on the thorny road already passed, and forward to the rugged path beset with difficulties still to be surmounted, experienced a sinking sensation of despondency ready to prompt the question—is the object of pursuit worth the labour and sorrow, and, it may be, sacrifice of something of paramount value, to obtain its possession? Thus far he had waded through a sea of dangers undismayed by their number or immensity, partly, perhaps, sustained by the bustle of warlike preparations and excitement attendant on the incessant clashing of arms; by the cheerful voices and undaunted faces of followers, who seconded the man with yet greater zeal than the cause. His was no low, mean, grovelling mind, succumbing without the external aids of gay society and sunshine of prosperity; but he

was totally alone; and the cheering effect of kind words, and benevolent looks, must be acknowledged by the proudest, as well as the tenderest heart.

At this period, whilst he was thus combatting the perplexities and perils inseparable from a position so sad and embarrassed, a singular and marvellous incident in the personal history of Ulric threw around him a halo of superstitious glory, which, in such an age, had probably a most beneficial influence over his drooping fortunes. When a state of obstinate resistance, like the death-fight of gladiators, painfully prolonged by the equal skill of the antagonists, was evidently telling on his bodily and mental powers, the gifted abbot had a vision, which the zeal and hands of the lettered monks of his monastery have recorded "for the glory of the abbey of St. Gall."

In the eleventh century, whenever some solemn secret was to be divulged, on which the fate of a nation, or a family, or a hero depended; whenever some saint, with more of earthly vanity than a beatified state seems to warrant, desired a fresh shrine, or the renovation of an old one; whenever some nascent monastery wanted a miracle to help it on its road to saintly renown, or some old confraternity, dwindling into insignificance, needed spiritual aid to arrest its downward course, a dream, or a vision, or a voice, ever brought the secret revelation

with happy coincidence. Nor was this always the result of fraud or superstition. Who even now doth not know that there are visions of the day, as well as the night, when the worn spirit in dreary solitude sees the scattered scenes of a dream, often suddenly concentrated into some chimerical form? Who hath not felt that the ear, dulled to earthly sounds, becomes impressed by an excited imagination, speaking to the heart in words, clear and distinct, as those embodied by the voice?

Towards the close of a day passed in melancholy musing, as he sat on a jutting rock near the outer gateway of his desolate dwelling, his head bowed towards the ground, his face covered with his hands, the abbot was suddenly accosted by a strange mysterious-looking pilgrim, who said in a low solemn voice, "If thou wouldest wish to see the termination of thy solitudes, and the woes of thy monastery, flee this wild and woful warfare; bend thy footsteps to the tomb of St. Foy, near Agen—return with a relic from her shrine, and, when her prayers and thine shall have placed thee again in St. Gall, build a chapel to her honour." The moment these words were pronounced, the pilgrim disappeared amongst some rocks, with the same silence and swiftness which had attended his coming.*

Whether this singular visit proceeded from a

* The abbot's supernatural visitation is thus described in the

foreign pilgrim, willing to invest his warning counsel with the sacred character of prophecy, or was a mere delusion, emanating from the abbot himself, to present a pretence for quitting the theatre of a war, now principally directed against himself, and the issue of which appeared at best doubtful, must ever remain a mystery. In the nineteenth century, few will be disposed to believe that the messenger, directing the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Foy, was sent from heaven; but the character of Ulric was so habitually frank, so free from everything like hypocrisy, or guile, that it is both difficult and painful to imagine the whole of this vision, so minutely detailed, was merely an invention. Switzerland is the very region of natural superstition;—its steep mountains and deep valleys; its snow-storms, and torrents, and avalanches; its lakes and caverns—all concur to foster a belief in the existence of agency, *not* of this world. It is possible that the abbot might be sincere—the situation in which he found

“*Conservateur Suisse*,” translated from an article in the Latin chronicle of St. Gall:—

“Un jour que, dévoré d'inquiétude, pensif et la tête baisée, il était assis sur un pan de rocher près de la porte de ce château solitaire, un pèlerin inconnu l'aborde et lui dit:—‘Si tu veux voir une fin à tes soucis et aux maux de ton monastère, va visiter le tombeau de Sainte Foy près d'Agen: rapportes-en quelqu'une de ses reliques, et à ton retour fais-lui bâtir une chapelle.’”

himself was favourable to feelings engrafted in the hearts of all Swiss and German children, to germinate in after-life, as circumstances may arise to call them into vigour. The loneliness of his solitary castle, wind and storm without, desolation within, was favourable to the growth of disordered fancies and supernatural visitations. Tumultuous thoughts and shadowy reveries ever haunt the mind working on itself in doubt and darkness. Strong as was the intellect of the abbot, it was, no doubt, to a certain degree, coloured by the legends of an age, hovering between the two worlds of spiritual existences and dull realities. Agen was in peculiar sanctity about that epoch, and a favourite resort of pilgrims from every part of Europe. Charlemagne, amongst others of lesser note, had bowed the knee and performed his devotions at the shrine of St. Foy, and all unconsciously to himself, the abbot might have suffered his mind, under the impress of a morbid imagination, to dwell upon the beneficial result of a similar visit, till, in a moment of weakness, or of slight delirium, he fancied he had received a command to go there.*

Whatever may have been the genuine cause of the pilgrimage to Agen, the abbot abandoned the castle

* Agen in Guienne, pleasantly situated in the department of the Lot and Garonne. It had formerly a collegiate chapter, and many religious houses.

of Rachenstein towards the close of the year 1080, and, attended by three domestics, habited like himself in pilgrim weeds, commenced his journey to the south of France by way of Geneva : a faithful monk was appointed to the government of St. Gall in his absence, and the slender garrison of Rachenstein sent to strengthen the troops quartered in the town for its protection. His departure was, of course, secret, to evade the pursuit of his enemies ; and his plans were so well laid that he reached Agen, on the banks of the Garonne, in safety. But the refined princely abbot of St. Gall, clad in the coarse garb of a penitent, appears to have been less at his ease than when encased in a coat of mail ; he had been exposed to hardships of many kinds quite new to him during this pilgrimage, and arrived indisposed.

The modern traveller, who may have crossed the Jura mountains in an elegant town-built chariot, or even in the more humble diligences of Messrs. Cail-
lard and Lafitte ; rested in the beautiful and luxurious city of Lyons, and then proceeded down the Rhone to Avignon, or Arles, or Marseilles, by steam vessels, not indeed like those on the Rhine, but safe and tolerably swift, can have little idea of the real sufferings of a journey in Switzerland at that remote period. Two centuries later, the traveller was warned to make up his mind to encounter all risks from roads and robbers. Even the noble military

causeways constructed by the Romans had experienced the barbarity of their conquerors, and were rapidly progressing to ruin. Here fallen rocks, there descending torrents impeded his path ;—now a river, deep, broad, and rapid, must be crossed by a frail plank, quivering and rebounding under the trembling foot. Sometimes a safer road lay through dense forests of pine, throwing their dark shade for many a dreary mile before the hesitating eye, which feared to advance into their gloom. Wolves and serpents were very common in the thick woods of primeval Helvetia, and lawless men, often serfs, escaped from a hard master, everywhere abounded. Towns and villages were thinly scattered, and usually surrounded with walls, the entrances to which were narrowly watched and guarded, permitting none to come in or go out, without ample certitude of the respectability of the visitant. The baron's castle was ever an asylum for baron, or knight, or crusader, if not too far from the common track ; but pilgrims bound to penitence, and the middle classes of society, seldom ventured to sound the horn that hung suspended at his lordly portal ; and happy might they consider themselves when, after a day of weariness, peril, and hunger, they found a safe shelter for the night in some miserable peasant's hut, and could assuage their famine with a little goats' milk, and a few scraps of black bread, made of chestnuts or barley.

The abbot's first care, after his recovery, was to pay a visit to the shrine of St. Foy, near Agen, as directed by the ministering pilgrim ; and he then took up his residence in a Benedictine monastery, sheltered by the town, where he passed a whole year in the constant exercises of study and conventual devotion.

The sceptic, or the believer in visions, may each find food for their separate opinions, in learning that Eckard, abbot of Reichnau, so long reputed dead in the castle of San Domino, made his bodily appearance a few days only after the departure of his rival, whose pilgrimage was unquestionably most opportunely taken, corroborating the suspicions of the papal party, that the abbot of St. Gall, eminently gifted with that sagacity of mind, or good sense, which suggests at the spur of the moment the line of conduct most beneficial to our interests, had planned this fortunate escape from impending dangers, which he could not, most probably, have surmounted. The emperor was then in Italy making preparations for a meditated attack on Rome ; and either through his medium, or that of some one in his suite or army, Ulric might have been informed of the liberation of the abbot of Reichnau.

Should this be the true solution of the mystery—or should the abbot, agitated by his precarious position, his mind under the impress of scenes calculated to

stamp each thick coming fancy with a supernatural tinge, have yielded to the mere suggestions of a half-frenzied brain; this vision is a melancholy proof to what extent even a wise and good man may deceive himself and others—"how the conscience can slumber in a middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud."

It appears the abbot of Reichnau had recovered his health, and the archbishop of Ravenna, now raised to the papal throne under the title of Clement the Third, possibly thinking a captivity of nearly two years sufficient punishment for his opposition to the will of the emperor, acceded to the petition of the countess Matilda for his release.* Though Henry

* In 1081 Henry was so far conqueror, that the gates of Rome were delivered up to him, and he was consecrated in the Lateran church, by the anti-pope, Clement III., his former chancellor, elevated to the tiara by his transient gleam of success after Gregory's flight to Salerno. Bertha received the imperial diadem at the same time, and Henry then fixed his residence in the ancient capital of Augustus and Charlemagne, as their lawful successor. It was in honour of this temporary triumph that Henry had some splendid presents sent from the Greek monarch, Alexis, openly averse from Gregory as the common enemy of kings: a radiated crown of gold, a cross set with rare pearls, a case of much-esteemed reliques, a vase of crystal, another of sardonyx, some balm from Mecca, and many thousand Byzantines in gold—to aid him in his contest with the Roman people, who still persisted in considering the deposed pope as their spiritual head.—*Gibbon*.

had magnanimously consented to his freedom, he returned unchanged in the inner man. Flushed with resentment, he took immediate possession of his abbey; and, uniting together some troops sent by the usurper Hermann to his own, recommenced the war. He began by invading St. Gall, which, slightly defended by a scanty garrison, soon fell a prey to his rage and rapacity. He destroyed a considerable part of the monastery, as well as the town, built around its walls, and then retired, carrying off some citizens, obnoxious from their steady attachment to the absent abbot, much cattle, and many valuable effects, which, in the midst of their pecuniary wants, the monks had yet religiously preserved in their church. From this outrage they had had scarcely time to recover ere he reappeared bringing with him Lutold, the same monk whom they had expelled from the convent three years before, and insisted upon their recognizing him for their superior. It was on Christmas eve, 1080, that the abbot of Reichnau came for the second time to St. Gall, with a strong escort of armed followers to enforce the inauguration of Lutold; the miserable monks remaining in the monastery took flight: it was intensely cold, and darkness favoured their escape. Some concealed themselves in the caverns and rocks of the dreary country around; others found an asylum amongst the hospitable shepherds of Appenzell; but all alike

were exposed to the most painful privations and dangers, to preserve their fidelity to the oath which bound them to Ulric and their common suzerain, the emperor Henry. Lutold was thus installed without further opposition abbot of the confraternity which had expelled and disowned him, in the absence of every member. To secure his conquest the abbot of Reichnau built on a hill, close to St Gall, the fortress of Berneck, and provided it with a garrison, which being left to subsist mainly, if not entirely, on pillage and rapine, held all the adjacent territory in subjection and terror.

This lawless state was happily of no very long duration. The abbot of St. Gall, whose foresight never seems to have deserted him at any moment of his stirring career, had made such wise arrangements before he left Switzerland, that either from spies appointed to watch over his interests, or through the medium of some dispossessed monk, he obtained information, from time to time, of what was passing at St. Gall; and when his plans were ripe for action he suddenly withdrew from his monastic retreat—threw aside his pilgrim staff—made a rapid journey homewards—assembled a handful of brave followers before his return was suspected—ran to attack Berneck; and after a siege of some days, during which Reichnau, astonished and confounded, was endeavouring to get together a suf-

ficient force for its defence, carried it by assault. Had not every historian who relates this incident alluded to its being a real antre of brigands, it would be most painful to add that the whole garrison was put to the sword, without making any exception in favour of Volkrath, brother of the count of Toggenburg, who commanded there. Notwithstanding this apology, the massacre of the garrison of Berneck is the least pleasing feature in the long life of Ulric III. of St. Gall, and conveys no very favourable impression of the effect of monastic gloom on the heart of man.

The usurper Lutold, who was presiding over the nearly empty halls and cloisters of St. Gall, surrounded only by some *religieux* from the convent of Reichnau, and a few young novices sent to grace his reign by the pope's friends, speedily left the coast clear to his chivalrous competitor; escaping through one of the private outlets common to baronial and monastic architecture, whilst Ulric yet lay encamped before Berneck; and the abbot of St. Gall soon saw himself, once more, within the walls of his beloved monastery. By degrees the dispersed brethren, receiving the glad tidings of his return, ventured from their concealments, and for a short season there was peace at St. Gall—such a peace as follows between the efforts of combatants, when they pant for breath to gain strength to wrestle for the last time.

Success so marked, and unexpected, rendered his enemies only yet more furious ; and a large proportion of the aristocracy of Helvetia, Swabia, and the Tyrol, turning their attention from the affairs of the empire, bound themselves by a solemn oath in 1082, not to cease from their efforts to banish him from the country ; and Lutold being personally obnoxious to the community, their first step was to depose him, and elect in his place Verinhar, a gifted monk of Reichnau, whose reputation, it was hoped, might induce the monks of St. Gall to receive him as their head, when Ulric should be conquered. Hermann of Luxemburg, the titular Emperor of Germany, now opposed to Henry, gave his sanction to this notable project, by sending a second crozier, which, as it was presented in the church of Reichnau, did not experience the fate of that broken at St. Gall.

A confederation so vast and powerful, nothing short of the wisdom, genius, fortitude, and perseverance of their single-handed antagonist could have defeated. He saw its danger, and felt aware that he was much too feeble, with such limited means as he then possessed, or had hitherto employed, to resist such a coalition ; but still undismayed, he sought and found, in the resources of his own capacious mind, the assistance he needed.

Behind the convent of St. Gall, at the foot of green hills and verdant valleys overtopped by Mont

Kamor, arises a range of Alps separated from the great chain, where the lofty pinnacle called Sentis lifts its snowy head far above the clouds ever resting on its rugged breast. The frontiers of Western Germany and Rhetia are confounded in this desert ; and there, from time immemorial, the people of St. Gall fed their flocks of sheep and goats ; the whole district constituted part of the abbey lands, and the good abbot Norbert, predecessor of Ulric the Second, who loved this solitude, had converted a hermitage, once the abode of a holy anchorite, into a rustic chapel for the shepherds. It was situated in a grassy dell, and thus named *Abbenccelle*, or the cell of the abbot (thence Appenzell). In process of time little villages, of seven or eight houses, had gradually risen around the first *châlets* of the herdsmen ; and a considerable population of wild-looking, hardy, athletic peasants, were now thickly spreading over the hills and valleys of this once savage region. In the course of this contest between the abbots, they had often changed masters ; but their hearts lay in St. Gall, and the abbot, counting on their fidelity, armed not only his subjects, and the serfs of the abbey, but raised a militia for the defence of the country, composed of the citizens of St. Gall, the farmers of Thurgovia, and herdsmen of the mountains of Sentis and Kamor. In the spacious quadrangles and courts of the monastery, he drilled these strange recruits,

teaching them the use of slings, bows, and arrows, and that most terrible weapon, called the *morgens-tern*, a heavy club finished by an iron head bristling with huge nails, so often employed by the Swiss in their subsequent struggles for freedom with their Austrian oppressors. By these measures, till then unthought of, he formed many corps of excellent soldiers, and aroused so completely the military propensities of the mountaineers of Appenzell, that from this epoch is dated that indomitable spirit, which, in after years, acquired for that canton a freedom earned by deeds of the most brilliant valour.*

Long years of warfare followed the revengeful resolutions of the barons. The duke of Zœringen, who headed this knot of implacable conspirators against their liege sovereign and his faithful servants, was not the original foe of the emperor, but his son and successor, Berthold the Second, a change by no means favourable to the abbot, since his rancour against

* Il (Ulric) profita habilement des inclinations militaires des montagnards d'Appenzell, pour en faire d'excellens soldats : c'est même de cette époque que date l'esprit martial qui valut, dans la suite à ce canton, un liberté conquise par les exploits de la plus brillante valeur.

Queen Anne received a copy of the *Ranz des Vaches* of Appenzell at her earnest desire. The words sometimes vary in different districts, and *châlets*, according to the *patois* of the country ; but the foundation is always the same pastoral drama. That of Appenzell is very melodious : the men are still famed for archery and slinging.—*Conservateur Suisse*, tome i. page 429.

Henry was yet deadlier than that of the deceased duke. He had married Agnes, the daughter of Rudolph of Swabia;* and his own father was believed to have died of grief at the ill success of his opposition to the emperor, and the terrible fate of Rudolph, whose fatal ambition he had spurred on to usurpation. The death of the anti-Cæsar had in it something so frightful, that a sensible impression was made by it on all the insurgent nobles, several of whom immediately deserted the ranks of the pope, without absolutely joining those of the emperor; and it is the opinion of many writers, that all further intestine rebellion would have ceased in a short period, if the pope, alarmed at this interregnum of hate and hesitation, had not strengthened his own cause by raising up Hermann of Luxemburg, count of Salmes, to the dangerous elevation from which Rudolph had fallen.

Rudolph, duke of Swabia, died in consequence of wounds received at the battle of Merseburg, the 15th of October, 1080.† Although he had lost his right hand, and was wounded internally, he survived two days in full possession of his faculties. A few hours

* Schoepflin, *Hist. Zœringo-Badensis*, tome i. page 72.

† Après six combats livrés à l'empereur Henri par l'anti-César Rodolph, ce dernier fut blessé à mort par le célèbre Godefroi de Bouillon, dans une bataille livrée près de l'Elster en Thuringe, le 15 Octobre, 1080.—*Gerbert.*, l. c. p. 78; *Albert. argent. in Chron. ad an^m 1080.*

before he expired he commanded his severed hand to be brought and laid upon his couch ; then addressing himself to the lords who surrounded him, he said, " Behold the hand which I had raised to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor Henry, my rightful sovereign ; but led away by evil suggestions I became a perjurer, and usurped an honour which did not belong to me. You see my end, wounded to death through that sacrilegious hand ! It is now for those who have directed us in all this, to look if they have not conducted us to the brink of eternal perdition."*

* La voilà cette main que j'avais levée pour prêter serment de fidélité à l'empereur Henri, mon seigneur ; mai j'ai faussé mon serment pour usurper un honneur qui ne m'appartenait pas : vous voyez quelle fin je fais, blessé à mort dans cette main sacrilège : c'est maintenant à ceux qui nous ont dirigés en tout ceci, à voir s'ils ne nous ont pas conduits dans le précipice de l'éternelle perdition.—*Conservateur Suisse*, tome ix. page 164. (Albertstad. Ursperg.)

1080. In battle, at Meissen in Saxony, on the river Ulster, after losing his right hand, died at Merseburg, in Saxony, Rudolph, count of Rheinfelden and duke of Swabia. He said, with deep groans, " Now it is come to this, I shall lay down the empire with my life. See you, and they who have brought me to this point, that I should sit on his throne, which did not belong to me, what good councils you have given me," &c., &c.—*Wüstisen*.

Lasius, and other German writers, have also recorded, with slight variations, this melancholy end of the contrite usurper, whose young and lovely wife, the princess, Adelaide, had already preceded him to the tomb. She died at Zurich, 1079, having survived her invasion of a sister's diadem scarcely two

Whatever secret influence such a scene and words so awful might have had on Rudolph's attendants, and on many of the emperor's turbulent vassals, they failed to effect any change in his family circle ; thus affording a melancholy corroboration of the received opinion that domestic feuds are ever the longest, bitterest, least reasonable, least appeasable, and most fatal of all others ; till "brothers' enmity" has, to the shame of the Christian profession, passed into a proverb. The count of Rheinfelden, Rudolph's only son, and his brother-in-law of Zœringen, accepted the nobleman offered by the unrelenting policy of the ex-pope ; and with the hot zeal of young men, pursued

years. "She was buried," says an old chronicler, with that minuteness of detail which makes the charm of their narrations, and stamps them with the seal of fidelity, "in the ancient monastery of Saint Blaise, on the left side of the entrance, under the little arch !" What a lesson on the vanity and instability of human affairs is conveyed in these simple words. No sculptured monument proudly arose to mark where this daughter of royalty laid, without regret, the young head that had so often ached under the weight of a crown not rightfully worn. A misguided husband, warring against his sovereign, had no time to rear a tomb to the memory of her he was so soon to follow.*

* La duchesse et son fils se retirèrent d'abord à Zurich, puis au château de Twiel (Duello) sur les bords du lac de Constance où cette princesse mourut a° 1079.

Hermann contr. codex murensis, apd. Gerbertus, l. c. p. 123. Elle fut ensevelie à St.-Blaise dans la forêt noire.

their treasonable plots in favour of Hermann of Luxemburg, as warmly as when Rudolph was the object of their rebellious, but more pardonable support. The hostility of the count of Rheinfelden, for Henry had naturally exercised the royal prerogative of punishing a pretender to his crown by confiscating the title and estates of Swabia, was not of much moment to the abbot ; but that of Zöeringen was almost ruinous. He had many admirable qualities. He was wise, skilful, and prudent : a favourite with the people, and respected by the aristocracy. Gifted with immovable courage, he often said to those who were the slow and unwelcome bearers of the reverses of fortune he was often doomed to experience—"Fear nothing—the horizon of life is turn in turn enlivened by sunshine and obscured by clouds : he who cannot support the frowns of fortune is undeserving of her smiles."

The moral influence of such a man weighed heavily against Henry and his adherents. Again and again the abbot of Reichnau, with the aid now of the Count of Toggenburg, now of the duke of Zöeringen, presented himself nearly at the gates of St. Gall, accompanied by Verinhar, their new candidate for the honour of being its governor. Gunpowder was unknown, the abbot had repaired his walls, and strong in the fidelity of his people, resisted every attempt to dislodge him ; nor did he always confine

himself to a defensive attitude. When he had ascertained by the intermediation of scouts, or the peasantry, always favourable to his interests, that his enemies were not in great force, he would sally out of his monastery and make reprisals for any act of violence exercised towards himself or his dependants. Three times he besieged in person a château in which they had placed a considerable garrison to overawe the country around him. Three times his valiant mountaineers scaled the outworks and were repulsed; but having in a sortie captured the commander and another officer of rank, he granted them and the entire garrison life and liberty, on the single condition that the citadel should be surrendered: a wise and generous treaty, almost redeeming the massacre at Berneck, and evincing that mercy was the usual guide of his actions, since the disheartened soldiers, shut up within destitute of leaders, must soon have fallen a prey to defeat and despair. After demolishing the fortress he felt himself sufficiently strong to turn his arms against the count of Toggenburg, between whom and himself there had been a particular personal enmity since the death of his brother Volkrath, killed at the taking of the fortress of Berneck. The count had twice ravaged the abbey lands, besides exercising much cruelty towards the helpless tenantry.

The Mosaic law, so much more in fashion with the

prelates of former days than the Christian code, rendered the abbot little scrupulous as to the exercise of the right of *lex talionis* ; and, after many defeats, his persevering courage enabled him to penetrate into the actual domain of this puissant noble.

To the west of the Alps of Appenzell, in a mountainous but less wild country, by the side of the lonely sombre lake of Wallenstadt, the lordships and sovereign authority had been united in the ancient house of these fierce nobles, and on a peculiarly high, steep rock, stood the antique family castle, the cradle of their race. The count believed his castle impregnable from its commanding site, immensely thick walls, and numerous towers ; but he was still to be taught that no issues are locked up, no mountains impassable to men who, like the abbot of St. Gall, are determined to penetrate into the one, and scale the other. Guided by his faithful Appenzellois, through solitary and intricate paths known to few but themselves, the persevering abbot reached the castle almost before break of day, and ere night came he had carried it by assault. The family were occupying their more modern residence ; and after setting fire to every tower and bastion, Ulric departed, without staining his hands by the blood of any but those who first opposed his conquest.

Transported with shame as well as rage at this mortifying loss and insult, the count came to take

his revenge with more celerity than the abbot anticipated, accompanied by a large body of his own relations and those of the confederate barons. A simultaneous attack was made near the very gates of St. Gall; and the vassals of the abbey, with the militia of the town, who went out to meet them, panic-struck at the great superiority of the count's army in number, after some disorderly fighting, made a retreat to the borders of the Sitter, a river at a considerable distance from St. Gall, closely followed by the triumphant enemy; there the momentarily dismayed troops of the abbot regained their usual courage, and crying out that, "they preferred to die the death of the brave, with arms in their hands, rather than fly like cowards," they suddenly faced about in a very advantageous post, and presented an appearance of such desperate resolution, that the count and his followers, already discouraged by the local difficulties of the road, first hesitated as to the propriety of continuing the battle, and then pursued it so feebly that he lost the preponderance he had gained. The archers and slingers of Appenzell, dispersed over the neighbouring mountains, many of whom (while watching their flocks), had obtained a view of what was passing below, flew to give the alarm to the neighbouring villages, and soon a vast concourse arrived to the succour of their liegemen, armed with such weapons as they could

seize upon at the moment—slings and arrows, morgensterns, scythes, pitchforks, and hatchets. The nobility stood their ground with much bravery, but the count of Toggenburg, who commanded, was obliged to retreat in turn, with great loss in killed and wounded. The count of Nellenburg, his particular friend, whose pillages and atrocities had earned for him the title of Attila of Thurgovia, was one of the latter. Count Burcard, of Nellenburg, of such unenviable celebrity, is another witness that from the distant era when He, to whom all hearts are open, all motives known, gently reproved the fiery zeal of his disciples in Samaria, by the touching words, “ye know not of what spirit ye are,” even until now, religion may exist as a principle in the soul without influencing the heart or conduct. He had given the whole village of Schaffhausen, with other exceedingly valuable patrimonial property, to enrich the two convents founded by his parents, the count and countess of Nellenburg, although already so largely endowed by them; and in the midst of deeds of violence, bloodshed, and rapine, frequently expressed a determination to retire, as they had done while in the prime of life, into the seclusion of a monastic establishment. But like Felix, he “put off to a more convenient season” the hour of repentance, and on the ensanguined field of battle he ultimately found a more suitable bed.

This defeat, and the severe wound of the count of Nellenburg, appear to have made a deep impression on the abbot of Reichnau, and for some time after this decisive victory, Ulric experienced so little molestation that he found time to commemorate his success by raising (as he had been admonished) a chapel to the honour of Saint Foy or Saint Finda, a female saint of high reputation for many succeeding ages. Pilgrimages were continually undertaken to her tomb in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and even now her hallowed remembrance exists at Agen. Ulric was permitted to complete this work of piety, but the league of his enemies, still undissolved, allowed him brief intervals of tranquillity, and the years 1085 and 1086, instead of bringing some relief to the calamities of this beautiful but hapless country, only multiplied them in extent and intensity.

When a public quarrel is envenomed by private dislike, a short truce has commonly no other effect than to enable the combatants to sharpen their arms for a new encounter. In the spring of 1086, apparently weary of the long duration of this conflict, the duke of Zœringen and the other barons suddenly advanced upon St. Gall, from three different points at the same moment, determined, by one grand simultaneous effort, to crush the remarkable man, whose skilful tactics and unflinching courage, under the

pressure of such accumulated difficulties, had become equally exasperating and humiliating to them. To preclude the possibility of escape from this blow, the confederate armies were divided into three columns. The first, commanded by the duke of Zœringen, descending the lake of Constance, ran over and sacked all the proprieties of the abbey between the town of Bregentz and city of Constance; the second, led on by the chevalier Adelgos, one of the most eminent warriors of his time, pillaged and set fire (at the opposite extremity of the abbatial domain) to Waldkirche, and the flourishing towns of Gossau, Puren, and Herisau; then directing his murderous bands upon the Alps of Appenzell, he destroyed all the little châteaux of the herdsmen, carrying off the cattle, and consigning to the flames the closely constructed hamlets of this entire region, as a punishment for their long-tried attachment to the abbot. The conflagration spread with such rapidity from one wooden building to another, devouring in its progress so many detached stables and granaries, scattered (as is usual in mountainous districts over the land) that the whole country resembled one vast continuous fire, from which the majority of the terrified inhabitants had hardly time to escape with life; and many of the sick, aged, and infants perished. Diethelm, count of Toggenburg, was at the head of the third column, which his vindictive ire directed upon the im-

mediate residence of the abbot, where soon nothing was seen but burning buildings—nothing heard but cries of death and despair. “Now, at this sad time,” says an old contemporary chronicler, “there was among the aristocracy only hatred, fury, rage, and vengeance, and among their subjects no other thing but sighs, groans, lamentations, and abundance of tears.” The tocsin resounded from the Alps of Appenzell to the lake of Constance, and the bridge of Bâle; for its bishop, almost equally obnoxious from his attachment to the emperor, was doomed to endure the misery of seeing his diocese several times devastated by the foes of Henry.

Not for a moment did the abbot appear paralysed by the perils or sights and sounds of woe around him. At this fearful conjuncture, on the contrary, his activity, his admirable presence of mind, which had hitherto neutralized the direst evils of his situation, shone forth with still greater lustre. He summoned under his banner all who could bear arms; and the treasury of his church again sent forth its gems and relics, to be returned in Jewish gold from Strasburg. Young and old, rich and poor, nobles and citizens, the peasants of the lowlands, the hunters of the mountains, shepherds and artisans, guided by attachment and despair, obeyed the call; and with this heterogeneous assembly he was not long in fronting with heroic courage the myriad ranks of his enemies.

To have taken the field against the whole collectively would have been madness. Wise as well as valorous, he preserved the dignified deportment of a Grecian chieftain, awaiting with calm firmness the proper moment for decisive action. The defence of the monastery was his prime care, and night as well as day he might be seen directing the reparations of the ramparts, throwing up trenches, and cheering on his men to the labour.

Count Diethelm of Toggenburg, commanding the concentrated forces of his own house and those of the family of Nellenburg, which included the two monasteries of Reichnau and Schaffhausen, was the general whose attack from various causes the abbot had most reason to fear. Besides political and private feelings in a barbarous age, to revenge the death of a friend or relative was deemed a sacred duty; the blood of Volkrath of Toggenburg, yet unexpiated, seemed to call for vengeance. The count was considered a man of bravery and military science: to him was deputed the personal conquest of the abbot, and in his advance towards St. Gall with that design, clearing a passage by fire and sword, he had reached the Sitter, a small but deep and rapid river of Appenzell, formed of three Alpine torrents issuing out of the glaciers of the Sentis, and was within a few miles of St. Gall, when the abbot, constantly informed of his movements through the medium of trusty spies, judged it neces-

sary to strike the blow he had meditated. At night-fall, when the weary soldiery and woful peasantry alike found a short respite from labour and sorrow, Ulric stole silently out of his gates, and with a select detachment of chosen troops advanced towards a long narrow defile, through which he knew the count must march on his way to St. Gall. It was hemmed in by steep precipitous rocks, projecting, some in naked rudeness, others fringed with pines and brushwood over the pass. Mountain rose upon mountain above the gorge, and at two hundred feet below flowed the roaring river. Here he stopped, spread his best archers and slingers over the sides of the ravine, and after posting a strong body of determined men at the opposite entrance, patiently awaited the count's approach. The result of this bold manœuvre did not deceive his expectation, or the admirable arrangements he had made. At early dawn the count quitted the village where he had encamped the preceding evening, and soon afterwards reached the dangerous point of his passage. Heading his troops, he rode on in fearless security, till, too late for retreat, he suddenly found himself surrounded by armed men and in presence of the redoubtable abbot! Crushed by stones, and riddled by arrows flying in all directions from the slingers and archers, (who, sheltered behind the jutting pinnacles of the rocks and trees, safely plied their murderous craft,) while veteran

warriors with swords, and pikes, and morgensterns assaulted him at each extremity of the defile; the count saw himself, after some valorous efforts to escape from his unfortunate position, forced to save his own life and that of his people, including his only son, by laying down his arms. A capitulation, as ignominious to himself as it was advantageous to the interests of his subtle conqueror, was concluded upon the spot. On the hilt of his sword, the usual substitute for a cross on such occasions, and considered equally binding, the count solemnly swore never more to take up arms against any abbot of St. Gall, nor pillage the lands of the monastery, and to send within a given period a large ransom for himself and followers.*

* It is the opinion of the various writers who have attended to this part of the career of the abbot Ulric of St. Gall, that it would have been impossible for him to have overcome the combined forces of the confederate barons, had their plans been better arranged. Müller, Wüstitzen, and other Swiss-German historians, in recounting the failure of the coalition, have remarked that had the barons had the slightest knowledge of military tactics, the abbot must have succumbed. The nobles of the eleventh century were doubtless ignorant of the refined arts of modern warfare, but they were also unassisted by gunpowder; and nothing—save a chance arrow transfixing his untameable heart, or a well-aimed stone dashing out his noble brains—would in all probability have ended the campaign favourably for them. In addition to his great genius, the abbot at this period was favoured by a thorough acquaintance with

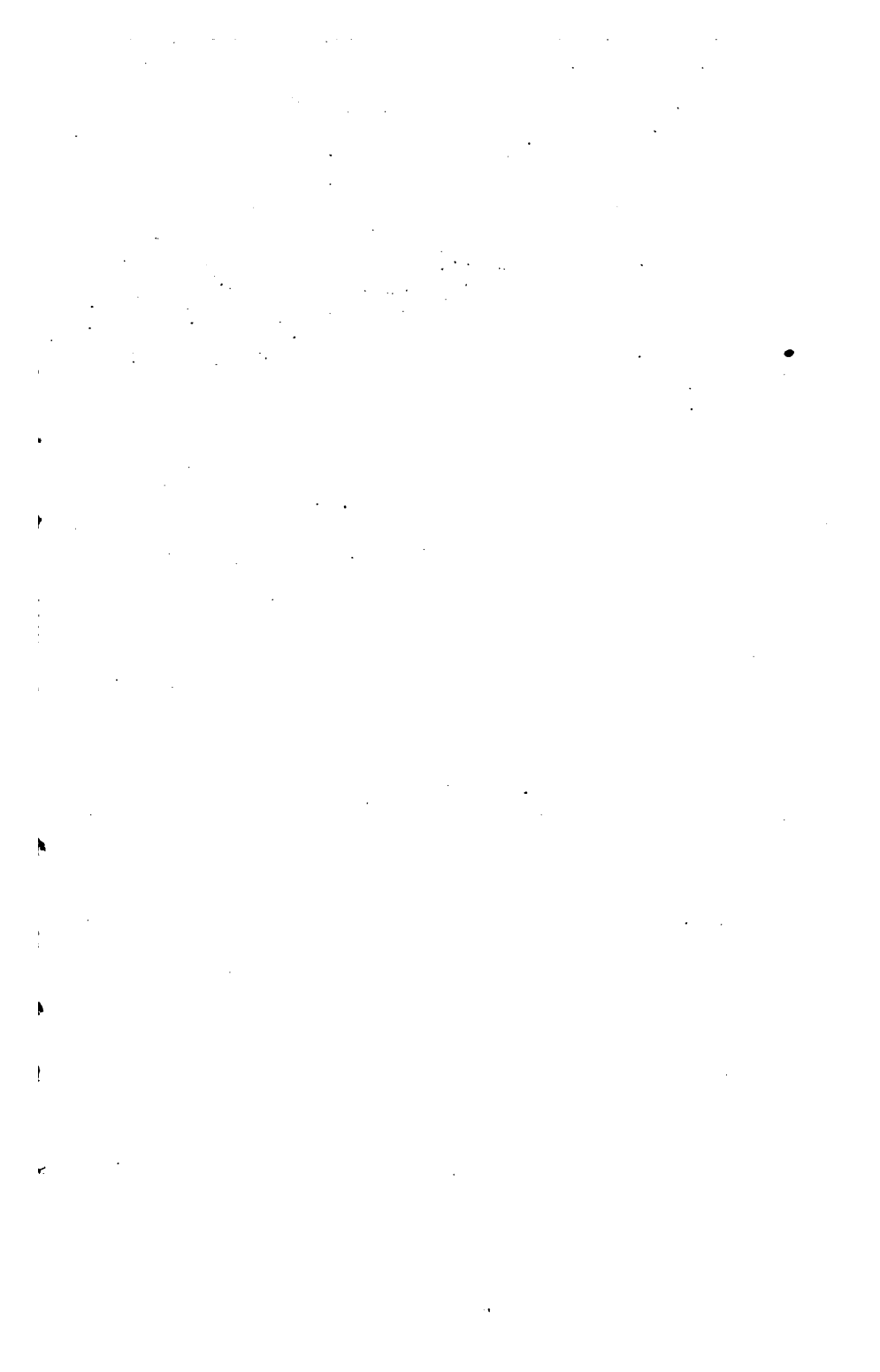
the localities of his own domain, necessarily unknown to them. Warlike movements must ever be executed with doubt and difficulty, in a country comparatively desert or strange to the invaders. At that very early epoch, not a map of these mountainous districts was probably in existence, excepting one with explanations in Latin verse, which the scientific monks of St. Gall had constructed of their own convent and dependencies, about a century before, for their sole use; and this map, however deficient in accuracy, was doubtless some guide to the abbot in the many skilful evolutions he made to hedge in, or pursue among the mountains, all approaching with hostile intent. One of the most useful qualities of a good general—that of knowing how to reap a harvest from the faults of an enemy—he possessed in a high degree. Shrewd in anticipating, as he was subtle and adroit in eluding stratagems, and with marvellous promptitude executing the plans which, after mature deliberation he had adopted, he drew every advantage from the scene of this campaign, a wild region, abounding with mountain passes, narrow defiles, deep ravines, and torrents, sometimes fordable, at others impassable, for even the hardy peasant born on their stony banks.

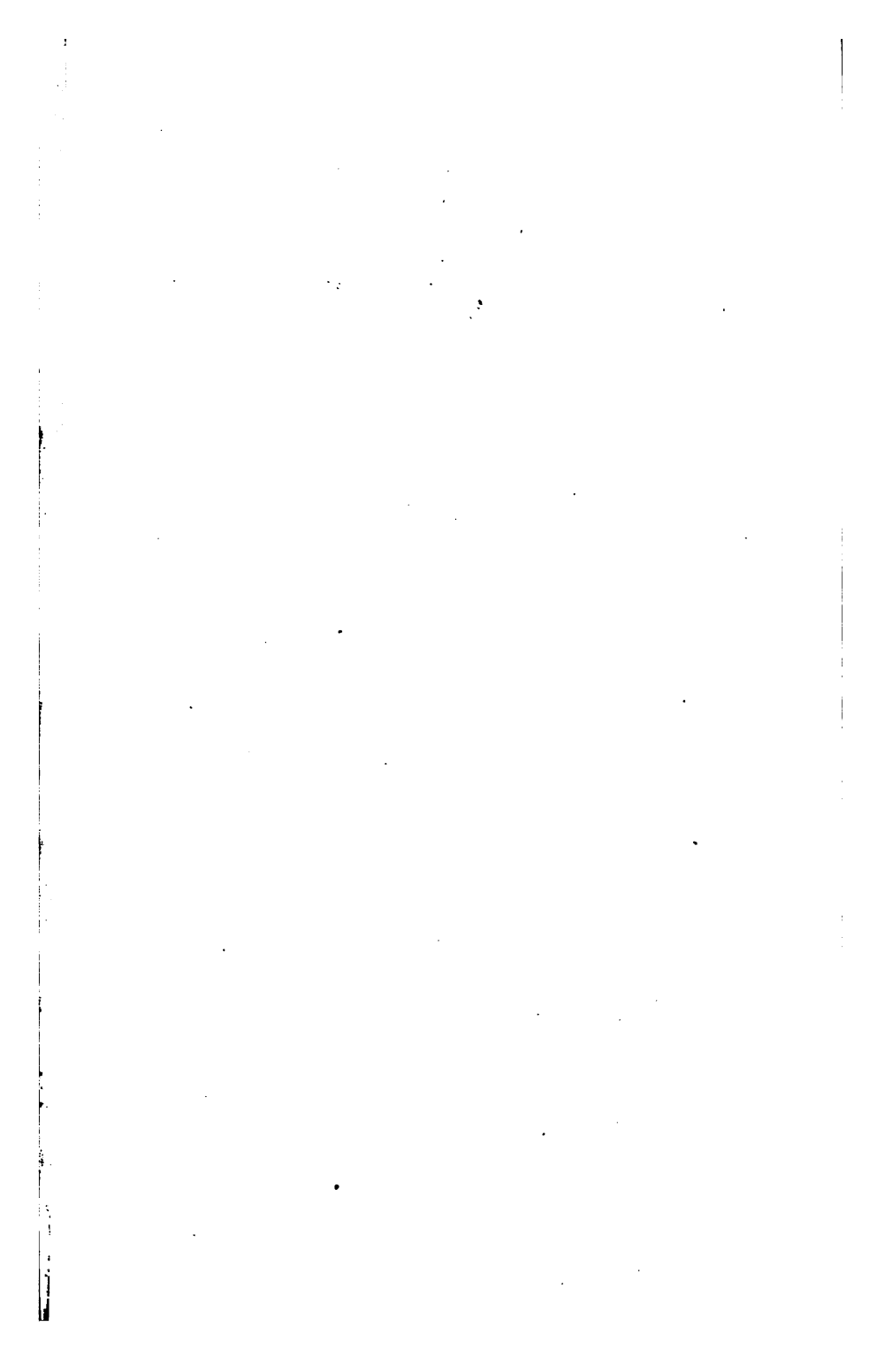
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LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

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